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1894 — National Municipal League — 1954

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The National Municipal Review

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League Acquires Its Own Building

After suffering for years from lack of space and the recurring necessity to move, the National Municipal League is finally acquiring a headquarters building of its own.

Dr. George H. Gallup, president of the organization, announced recently that the five-story structure at 47 East 68th Street, New York City, formerly the home of Mr. and Mrs. Gardner Cowles, had been purchased by the League. The League's Council has approved the naming of the building for Carl H. Pforzheimer, League treasurer for 33 years.

Of the sum required to take title to the building and remodel it, the Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation, Inc., contributed $33,000 — or $1,000 for each year of Mr. Pforzheimer's service to the League.

Dr. Gallup recalled that Mr. Pforzheimer has given the organization many sizeable gifts over the years.

"In many other ways," he continued, Carl Pforzheimer has been a living example of the spirit which animates the League. He has interested many persons in the organization and its work. And he has given his own community—Westchester County, New York—the kind of intelligent, unselfish citizen leadership which the League tries to encourage all over the country."

Mr. Pforzheimer was chairman of the charter commission that gave Westchester one of the few modern county charters, served as chairman of the Westchester Planning Commission and as member and chairman of many League committees.

An additional fund is being raised to remodel the building, according to Alfred Willoughby, executive director. Alterations will be necessary to adapt the structure for office use and to make it conform to the New York City building code.

(Continued on following page)

The House on 68th Street

A Permanent Home for the League

(Continued from preceding page)

An appeal to all League members to contribute to the building fund a sum at least equal to their normal annual subscription is being made according to Mr. Willoughby.

Mr. Willoughby noted that the purchase of the house would not only eliminate frequent, costly and disrupting moving, but would provide superior quarters and facilities for far less than they could be rented. Thus, in the long run, the building will be an economy, he said.

A letter from Mrs. Pforzheimer, vice president of the Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation, Inc., stated that the bulk of the grant was to be applied to the purchase price of the building. The balance may be used for alterations or may be added to any fund created "to ensure the permanency of the work of the National Municipal League in its new headquarters."

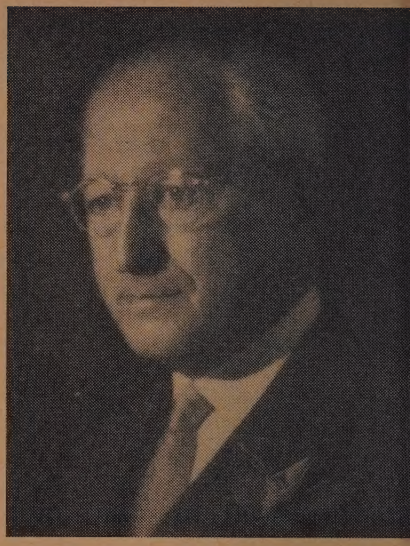
It is hoped that renovations can be completed in time to permit removal from present headquarters at 542 Fifth Avenue to the new site early next year.

Commenting on the acquisition, Dr. Gallup declared:

"For the first time since Theodore Roosevelt, Carl Schurz, Louis D. Brandeis and others founded the organization 60 years ago, the League will have sufficient space to enable its personnel to operate at full efficiency.

"The library, for example, has heretofore been cramped. Now there will be ample space not only for its unusual collection of books, periodicals and source materials but also for scholars who wish to make use of this material.

"In the new building we shall have



Carl H. Pforzheimer

for the first time in League history small auditorium, accommodating abou 75, for meetings and discussion group

"The facilities of the new buildin should increase materially the League effectiveness."

Purchase of the building from th Fleur and Gardner Cowles Charitab Trust came at a propitious momen During the summer it was announce that the building to which the organiz tion moved only last May will be demo ished to make way for a modern sky scraper. This will be the fourth—an last—move in a decade.

In this home it will no longer b necessary for members of the staff t outshout the Fifth Avenue traffic uproa to make themselves heard.

The League's new headquarters situated in a quiet east side residenti neighborhood, between Park and Mad son Avenues. Across the street is th Council on Foreign Relations. Within block are Hunter College and the Inst tute of Public Administration.

Conference to Be Biggest Ever

The Sixtieth Annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, to be held November 7 to 10 in Kansas City, Missouri, will be the largest in League history. It will also be the first time that the event is held in the Missouri metropolis.

A committee of leaders in the host city headed by John B. Gage, former mayor who played a leading role in breaking the hold of the Pendergast machine,[1] is rapidly completing arrangements for the conference.

Dr. George H. Gallup, League president and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, will address the closing luncheon of the session, November 10, it was announced. And Thomas R. Reid, director, Office of Civic Affairs, Ford Motor Company, and long time League stalwart, is to be the speaker at a luncheon on November 8. On this occasion welcome addresses will be delivered by Governor Phil H. Donnelly of Missouri, Governor Edward F. Arn of Kansas and Mayor William E. Kemp, of Kansas City.

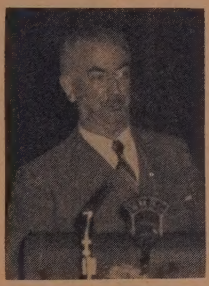
A luncheon on November 9 will be

Thomas R. Reid

John B. Gage

featured by an address by Mrs. Dorothy M. Dolbey, acting mayor of Cincinnati. Mrs. Dolbey is the only woman in the United States to head the government of a large city.

A broad program covering twenty phases of governmental and citizen activity has been planned. Among the panels are the following:



Frank C. Moore

Belle Zeller

"The Metropolitan County," with former Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore of New York State presiding. James A. Singer, member of the St. Louis County Council, Weldon Cooper, University of Virginia, and John D. Corcoran, Public Administration Service, and others will take part.

"State Legislatures: How Can They Operate More Effectively?" Dr. Belle Zeller, chairman of the Committee on American Legislatures, American Political Science Association, and professor of political science at Brooklyn College, will be chairman. Representative A. Clifford Jones, of the Missouri legislature, is among the members of the panel.

"Improving the Civil Service," with James W. Watson, executive director, National Civil Service League, as chairman.

"The Press as a Community Force," at which Roy Roberts, editor of the *Kansas City Star*, will preside. Others taking part include Edward E. Lindsay, editor of the Lindsay-Schaub chain of

(Continued on page 510)

[1]See also page 464.

Crime, Politics Topic of Forum

The topic, "How Can We Divorce Crime from Politics," will be the subject of discussion at the well known radio forum, "America's Town Meeting of the Air," which will emanate from the National Conference on Government November 9.

Robert E. Merriam

It will be the first time in League history that this program, heard over 325 stations affiliated with the American Broadcasting Company, will originate at a League function.

Robert E. Merriam, youthful member of the Chicago Board of Aldermen, who has made a nation-wide reputation in his battle against organized crime in the nation's second largest city, has accepted an invitation to be one of the two speakers who will take part. The name of the other has not been announced.

Moderator of the program will be James Murray.

Those attending the dinner meeting of the conference November 9 will constitute the audience and are invited to ask questions of the speakers. Usually the discussion and question period continues after the program goes off the air.

In his campaign against crime early this year, Alderman Merriam made a tape recording of a building inspector endeavoring to extort a bribe from the owner of a small apartment house in Chicago. He also arranged to have a *Life* photographer take a picture of the inspector while he was making his proposition.

Merriam found that getting the appropriate officials to prosecute was not as simple as might be imagined, despite the damning evidence. Four new building inspectors were sent to the apartment house and suddenly found a score of violations. And Merriam himself faced contempt charges for a time.

The 36-year-old alderman has successfully employed a regular television show in his fight against crime. It is this program which stirred the ire of many local and state officials. Merriam is therefore an ideal participant in any discussion of the relationship of crime and politics.

Day Is Coming When the Twain Shall Meet

The League's influence stretches halfway round the world. Not long ago John E. Bebout, assistant director, sent information, suggestions and a series of publications to the Federation of All-India Local Authorities.

Expressing thanks for this material, K. Narasimha Rao, joint secretary, said, in part, "I shall try to take advantage of the . . . information furnished by you, and my heart opened up with gratitude at the elaborate pains you have taken to convey the same. This really discloses how contacts do dispel prejudices and bring about understanding and sympathy, and I am sure the principle holds good in the case of nations as with individuals."

John E. Bebout

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Editorial Comment

Ahead of the Election Returns

THE opinions of the people on major public issues find their most authoritative expression in the ballot box. But long before this occurs, there is much frontier thinking, advance planning and evaluation of proposals within an ever widening circle. In its sphere, the National Municipal League, without ever engaging in a campaign, plays an important role in helping citizens prepare for basic decisions later registered at the ballot box or in action by official bodies.

For 60 years it has been the chosen instrument of determined people with a yearning for better government. Through it they have helped themselves formulate new civic goals and develop the means for attaining them. Just how this has been done and with what results is brilliantly told in the article by Dr. Thomas H. Reed starting at page 449 of this issue of the REVIEW.

There is ample evidence both in election returns and in the multitude of voluntary associations, built often on little more than good intentions, that the vast majority of the American people want good government and decent politics and are willing to make some personal effort to have them. The problem is to translate good intentions into sound and practical goals and set up clear direction signs for reaching them. Much of what is commonly lamented as citizen inertia is really citizen frustration resulting from good intentions that have found no outlet in good and effective works.

The League's essential mission is to liberate citizens from frustration. It does this by enlisting in their behalf the services of the soundest and most imaginative authorities to diagnose civic and governmental ills and prescribe practical remedies. It does this by providing a medium through which practicing citizens exchange experience and extend mutual aid in the common battle. It does this by serving as "Information Please" to any citizen or official who raises a legitimate question by mail, wire, phone or personal visit. It does this through an increasingly active program of applied civic education via the printed word, over the air, from the platform, in schools and colleges and by means of conferences and field and group activities.

The vitality and dynamic quality of the League are strikingly illustrated by the steady growth in recent years of the program, the attendance and the impact of its 60-year-old National Conference on Government, which meets this year in Kansas City, November 7 to 10. The League was born at such a Conference in Philadelphia in 1894. In a real sense, the League is born again at each succeeding Conference because at the Conference, as in all of its other activities, the League is invariably grappling with tomorrow's problems. That is how the League stays forever young and keeps constantly ahead of the election returns.

GEORGE H. GALLUP, *President*

National Municipal League

The Complete Citizen

CITIZENSHIP is a more exacting calling in the United States than it is in most other free countries. This is because of our complicated system of government.

Not only do we distribute responsibilities among more or less independent national, state and local governments, we also divide up the powers of a single government among separately elected legislative, executive and even judicial officers.

In addition, the national government and each of the states has its own distinctive constitution, while thousands of local governments have charters that display even greater diversity. Every constitution and charter imposes more or less detailed limitations and procedures on the exercise of governmental power. The interpretation of these has filled thousands of volumes with judicial decisions that make up a system of constitutional law so vast that the most studious lawyer can know only a small part of it.

As time has passed this system has become even more baffling both to the citizen and to the official eye by virtue of the growth of a more and more intricate web of intergovernmental relations. These relationships are a response to the fact that no matter how government may be fractured and parcelled out, on paper, it must achieve some unity and some consistency of purpose and direction if it is to be effective in an interdependent world.

The wonder is that, with this system to manage, American citizens do as well as they do. Surely they can be pardoned for an occasional sense of frustration. The point is that having, for essentially good reasons, saddled ourselves with an inherently complicated system of government, we have as citizens assumed the heavy obligation of carrying it successfully.

Next to the temptation to retreat into complete civic inertia, the nature of our system tempts citizens to concentrate on one level or one favored function of government to the neglect of equally important aspects or of the system as a whole. Despite the almost universal lip service to the doctrine of local self-government, the tendency in these times seems to be for more and more people to concentrate their attention, whether in love, hope or hate, on the national government.

This is noticeably true of many of those who most loudly decry "centralization in Washington." Many such people talk glibly about "turning back" functions to the states without troubling to inquire why the federal government has a hand in such functions or whether or how well the states are prepared to handle them. It should be as clear as crystal that if a substantial part of the job of government, including determination of policy on matters vitally affecting the safety, health, prosperity and general welfare of the people of the country, is to be confided to state and local governments, a substantial part of the attention of every citizen should be

directed to those governments. Such attention will pay off even in Washington. It is the only safe way to lighten the load of a central government necessarily heavily burdened by defense, foreign relations and other inescapable national obligations. In addition, it insures better selection and in-service training of the national leaders who climb the ladder of local and state politics and government.

Of course, the individual citizen by his own unaided efforts cannot comprehend the whole range of complete and effective citizenship and make his influence felt as he might wish in every part of our government. Hence the imperative need exists not only for national parties but also for other national, state and local associations of citizens that permit individuals, while specializing to some degree in their own citizen activities, to enjoy the benefit of the specialization of others with similar purposes and ideals. Hence also the need for technical assistance for citizens, technical assistance of the kind supplied by the National Municipal League in its models, guides and consultant services. And hence the need for a more specific and more elaborate system of civic education for young and old than would be necessary in a country with a simpler system and lesser obligations.

No one seriously proposes that we abandon the basic division of powers among levels and departments of government. Experience abundantly justifies the belief of the founding fathers that all power of government should not be lodged in one place, particularly in a nation of continental dimensions and great regional differences. The very necessity which makes a starkly simple unitary government inappropriate enjoins us not to pile on needless complexities.

As Woodrow Wilson once put it, the imperative need is for simplification. This is the keynote of much of the National Municipal League's program for achieving more effective and more manageable state and local government.

The council-manager plan, the short ballot, the one-house legislature, the executive budget, permanent registration are but a few examples of innovations that in the last half century have simplified and clarified the task of the citizen.

Much of the needless complexity in modern government is due to exaggerated attachments for particular functions, agencies or procedures, to the detriment of balanced, responsible, effective, over-all government. One of the great dangers of complicated government lies in the fact that there are so many nooks and crannies in which citizens can hide out from their obligations as complete citizens while happily busying themselves with matters of minor importance or questionable merit. The first obligation of one who would be a complete citizen is to resist the temptation to be only a partial or special interest citizen. Complete citizenship is a high calling, but it is one that has room for every American.

An Old Master Speaks

Noted authority on governmental problems recalls early League days; sees no dearth of new worlds to conquer.

By THOMAS H. REED*

THERE is something very significant in the survival of any organization through 60 such changeful years as those from 1894 to 1954. Growing old gracefully is a ticklish business. For us humans it means not only a very disconcerting bodily degeneration but, what is worse, in most of us a stiffening of the mind—a more or less complete rejection of new ideas. We oldsters like to think that our conflicts with the young are the result of our greater experience and excess of wisdom. Unfortunately it is all too often due to our failure to keep in step with progress.

Institutions run a similar risk of creeping paralysis. Those which outlast more than one generation must not only be concerned with some principle of lasting value but must also have shown the capacity to adjust their activities to the conditions of a world which never stands still. In all institutions which have long survived, among which church and state are the most notable, there has always been a succession of young hearts and brains constantly challenging the "elder statesmen" whenever the latter have lost contact with the present.

The National Municipal League was at its formation in 1894 literally what its name implies, a league of organizations then engaged in uphill fights for better city government in their respective cities. They felt deeply the need of pooling their knowledge and experience in view of the absence of published materials on city government. The League, whose membership was soon after opened to individuals, thus started with the purpose of aiding groups and individuals interested in good government. After 60 years that is still its purpose. The importance of this service has not diminished. Though there is now an enormous literature relating to municipal affairs, most of it is highly technical, and the League continues to be the only organization of national scope devoted to supplying citizens and citizen groups with advice and usable information concerning the concrete problems of now not merely city but county and state government. It has thus satisfied the first condition of institutional longevity—concern with a principle of lasting value.

The League, however, would have

*Dr. Reed, noted governmental consultant, has made many studies of local governments, including Cincinnati (Ohio), Atlanta and Fulton County (Georgia) and Essex County (New Jersey). He drafted the council-manager charters of Hartford (Connecticut), Richmond (Virginia) and Augusta (Georgia), as well as the charter consolidating the city of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish (Louisiana). Dr. Reed made a nation-wide survey of what universities and colleges are doing in citizenship training. Acting as consultant to the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University's School of Law, he is co-author, with Mrs. Reed, of two reports on the subject issued by the Clearing House.

died long ago if it had not also been able to keep within hailing distance of the changing fronts on which the interminable campaign for good government has had to be waged. For good government, itself a changing concept, must be sought by means which alter from place to place and year to year. Good citizens need aid as much in 1954 as in 1894 but it may well be a different kind of aid and certainly will be related to different subjects.

The United States into which the League was born in 1894 differed vastly from the one we live in today —how different only the old can be expected to know for certain and even they have mostly forgotten. There were then no automobiles and no airplanes. The electric trolley car was something of a novelty. There were no radio, no motion pictures, no television, no electric stoves, no vacuum cleaners. On the other hand, there was no income tax, a billion-dollar Congress was a rarity, and you could hire a good housemaid for five dollars a week.

City Population Increases

Cities were much smaller than today. The 1890 census listed 124 cities of 25,000 or more, with a total population of 13,994,315, as against 481 such cities with a total population of 61,953,307 in 1950. Cities, however, were growing rapidly and their facilities and services compared unfavorably with those of old-world cities.

Only eight years earlier Bryce had justly characterized city government as our "one conspicuous failure." Nothing had happened in the meantime to alter the validity of this conclusion. Cities were dominated by machines allied with one or the other of the two great political parties. Except for the effect of recently adopted civil service laws in New York and Massachusetts, city offices were the spoils of the victor in each city election.

Direct primaries were unknown and the caucuses and conventions through which nominations were made were far from adequately regulated. Until Massachusetts adopted the "Australian" ballot in 1888 there had been no genuine protection to the voter's right to secrecy, and a party nomination for a city office generally carried with it the support of all that party's adherents on the ground that they did not wish to weaken the party's chances nationally by bolting its local ticket.

Responsibility for the bad conduct of city affairs was hard to fix. City councils were large and elected by wards. Through their committees they exercised a large share of what properly should be executive power, which was further divided among a number of elected heads of departments, leaving the mayor only a nominal chief executiveship. Finances were generally controlled by the council committees, regular budget procedure was unknown, and most cities had no better than a single-entry system of bookkeeping which might control the inflow and outflow of cash but nothing more.

Under such a setup jobs were held by political hacks, contracts went to political favorites, and outright corruption was common. But when the

good citizens rebelled against waste and inefficiency they mostly butted their heads helplessly on the entrenchments of the machine. Their complaints were discounted by the professional politicians as what Dana in the *Sun* called the "infantile blubber of the goo-goos."

Such was the scene at the moment of the League's birth. The conditions which then prevailed and which have since been slowly, painfully and partially overcome have determined to a large degree the attitudes of advocates of better city government to the present day. The great obstacle to reform was the power of the political machines which stood right across the path of progress, entrenched behind a network of laws and traditions.

Political Reform Program

In the course of the first twenty years following the founding of the League a whole program of what can properly be called political reforms was evolved, the primary object of which was to give the people of a city the opportunity to have good government if they wanted it. It was a cardinal principle of this program that no rational relation existed between the issues of municipal politics and the real or alleged principles of the great national political parties. It followed that the national parties really had no business in municipal affairs, that to reduce their influence as far as possible municipal elections should be separated from state and national elections, and that party labels should be removed from the ballots used in municipal elections. Nominating and election machinery should be amended, according to the program, so as to ensure honest registration and an honest count. Still further, elections should be by proportional representation if possible and, failing that, should be preceded by a nonpartisan primary to reduce to two the number of candidates for any one office, thus ensuring a majority choice.

An equally important political reform was the merit system, advocated by the early reformers not so much as a means of promoting the efficiency of the civil service as of depriving the machine of the potent weapon of patronage. Home rule also was an integral plank of the reform platform. It was defended, of course, on abstract grounds as the inherent right to self-government possessed by every American community. It was sought chiefly as a means of further checkmating party influence—often that of the party opposed to the one in control of the city—at the state legislature and the infinite opportunities for chicanery in the backstairs politics of the state capitol.

The list of major political reforms also called for the reorganization of city government itself to provide the citizen a straight shot at those responsible for graft or mismanagement. This included abolition of two-chamber councils in favor of small councils elected at large, the disappearance of elected department heads and, at first, the concentration of executive power in an elected mayor with a veto and sole power to initiate the annual budget.

After the spectacular success of the Galveston commission in putting that hurricane-wrecked city on its feet, and the subsequent furor over the Des Moines plan, the reformers flirted briefly with the idea of commission government but gave it up enthusiastically for Richard S. Childs' council-manager plan. The initiative and referendum remained in the budget of reform measures as the permanent contribution of the Des Moines plan.

This whole program of "political" reforms was well launched by the time Dayton adopted the manager plan in 1913. Along with some provisions for budgeting and financial organization and procedures they have formed the gist of the League's *Model City Charter*. They have been supplemented by projects for the reorganization of county and state government and considerable talk but not much action anent the metropolitan problem. Home rule has made many advances in the constitutions and laws of the states. Innumerable local contests have been waged on the issues raised by the various parts of the program and many victories have been won. No foreign observer would today repeat Bryce's unfavorable judgment on city government. On the whole our cities today are better places to live in than most of their British and European contemporaries.

The improved quality of American city government, however, cannot be ascribed wholly to the adoption of these political reforms. A parallel influence of perhaps even greater importance has been the professionalization of municipal administration. Our small cities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were operated on an almost purely amateur basis. It was assumed in those days, with reasonable justification, that any of the simple services then expected of a city could be performed by any citizen without previous training or experience. This idea, which fitted rather neatly with the methods of local machines and bosses, persisted long after most of the work was done by salaried employees. It still lurks in the minds of some reactionary politicians today.

The Merit System

The adoption of the merit system, even in its earliest and most primitive form, eliminated some of the worst political hacks from routine positions and prevented clean sweeps with each change of administration. Later the manager plan introduced a professional officer as chief executive. The most powerful inducement to professionalization lay in the growing volume, complexity and technical character of city business. The growth of cities and the equally rapid development of popular demand for services made possible by the progress of science in the first 50 years of the twentieth century, have made it politically suicidal for even the most strongly entrenched boss to trust the keeping of the city's books, the construction of its sewers, the direction of its water works, the protection of its public health, and even the command of its police and fire departments to any but professional hands.

There may be lucrative sinecures with high sounding titles for worthy politicos but the work, except in the smallest cities, is done by professionals. This trend has been supplemented by an enormous development of municipal administration as a field of scientific study, and of professional organizations of municipal officials.

A student at Harvard from 1897 to 1901, the writer had, as a preparation for a career in which city government has played a major part, the advantage of only a part of a one-semester course in that subject, and he would have got less in that field in almost any other university. Today every substantial institution of higher learning has at least one course in municipal government and administration, with one member of the faculty, at least, interested in municipal research. Several universities have elaborate graduate setups for work in public administration, including municipal administration. Some of these and other institutions have schools in which municipal administrators are trained for their jobs.

Citizen Agencies Grow

In 1906 the founding of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research started a long line of citizen-supported research agencies throughout the country, devoted to the continuing study of the administration of a particular city, and constant readiness to assist city officials with their administrative problems. Associations of city managers, finance officers, planning officers and the like, grouped together at the University of Chicago, perform important services in raising the professional standards of their members.

The result has been that along with the transfer of municipal services from amateurs to professionals has gone a steady improvement in the techniques of administration. No attempt has ever been made to compute the amount of money spent by colleges and universities, research agencies and organizations of municipal officials, but its aggregate would undoubtedly make the budgets of the National Municipal League over the past 50 years look modest indeed. Alongside of these generalized efforts to improve municipal administration have gone a great number of special studies, usually called surveys, of individual cities and counties, usually paid for by the governmental unit or units concerned, but sometimes by the voluntary contributions of citizens. The sums so spent over a half-century in the aggregate have been prodigious.

Throughout this era of professionalization and administrative progress the League has been consistently hospitable to all such endeavors. Stewart's history of the League[1] during this period is a rehearsal of one activity after another in cooperation with the rapidly increasing number of research projects, while at the same time the League continued its first and most vital activity of aiding citizens in their

[1] *A Half Century of Municipal Reform —The History of the National Municipal League,* by Frank Mann Stewart. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1950.

localities to secure political or administrative reforms. In so doing it developed to a high degree a procedure for extracting the consensus of expert opinion on various subjects through a series of committees. This resulted in not only a *Model City Charter* but also a *Model County Charter* and a *Model State Constitution,* as well as model laws on such subjects as bonds, budgets, election administration, registration, real property tax collection, state civil service and a state medico-legal investigative system. These models put into the hands of lay citizen groups throughout the country weapons they could by no means have forged by themselves and contributed greatly to the progress of good government.

League a Clearing House

Of this period it is enough here to say two things: first, the League was successful in living through two wars and an intervening depression, no mean achievement in itself for an organization wholly supported by voluntary subscriptions; second, the research organizations and those of municipal employees have gradually gone their own ways, leaving the League its original field as the clearing house for citizen action for better city and necessarily also state and county government.

It would be impossible to appraise accurately the relative importance of the further perfection of administrative techniques and the promotion of citizen action in the years ahead. There will always be conflicting views on this subject. It is clear, however, that there are certain limitations in a democracy like ours on what can be done by research alone. For, if the results of research are to be adopted in most critical areas of the governmental spectrum, they must be supported by vigorous and decisive citizen action. Many of us have vivid recollections of the admirable research jobs done by some of the "little Hoover commissions" and what happened to their recommendations in default of warm and vigorous citizen support.

The helplessness of research by itself is further emphasized by the fact that college and university research agencies, the municipal research bureaus and the professional organizations of officials are by their very nature incapable of conducting any kind of campaign for any controversial policy other than by a simple publication of the facts. They frequently have to be careful how far they go in that direction. It must further be regretfully admitted that many researchers, all too well aware of these limitations, make a virtue of necessity and take to regarding research as an end in itself—which it is not. Municipal research depends for any immediate success on receptive city officials, and they are obviously a product of citizen action.

As one looks down the path of state and local government improvement for the next twenty years, one is impressed, of course, by the need for expanded research in many directions, but also by the extensive provision already made to supply

it. One is further impressed by the imperative necessity of getting something practical and concrete done with the fruits not only of the things we will learn from the new research but also with truths we have known for years and which have so far been only partially applied. This is where the League has its work cut out for it —to interpret, as it has in the past, the conclusions of scholarship to the lay citizen, to arm him with model charters and laws embodying the consensus of expert opinion, and to inspire him by the examples of others who have done well. This is the role which the League was created to fill and which it has developed through thick and thin ever since. There is no stand-in or understudy to take over if the League should falter in its part.

Changing Scene

This does not mean, however, that the League must go on simply repeating itself like some old professor reading the lectures he prepared when his current class was still in diapers. The municipal scene is changing and new crises in municipal affairs are constantly arising. Programs for better government must be adapted to meet them. It is impossible to say just what municipal reformers will be advocating in 1994 but it is possible to point out certain changes of direction and emphasis which are imperatively called for by the conditions of today. They relate to the internal organization of local government, the relation of the state to local affairs, and the means by which citizen action is to be carried out in the immediate future.

It has been a basic element in the creed of municipal reform that executive authority should be concentrated in the hands of a single individual, preferably a professional, nonpolitical official responsible to a small elective council—in other words, a city manager. This plan, to the tune of considerable self-congratulation on the part of its advocates, has achieved rather rapid acceptance until today over 1200 cities have embraced it. Its results have been, on the whole, very satisfactory. Candor, however, requires the admission, first, that it does not work well unless the city council is willing to let the manager manage and, second, that it has utterly failed to be adopted in the largest cities of the country.

It is not necessary to go into detail here as to what happens to the manager plan when the council steps out of its proper board-of-directors role. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that the conditions which make it possible for the manager plan to produce superior results require strong and unremitting defense which is all too often neglected. The nature of politicians is not changed by the adoption of the manager plan, and they have proved adept in finding their way around the provisions of the best charters. Defense of the manager plan where it has been adopted, not only against attempts to oust it but against the more frequently successful attempts to pervert it, must be an intensely

serious preoccupation of citizen action.

According to the 1950 census, Cincinnati was the only manager plan city with more than 500,000 population, although San Antonio and Kansas City have now probably exceeded that mark. The only city with a population at the time of adoption of over 500,000 was Cleveland, where it was subsequently abandoned through the combined efforts of the Republican and Democratic machines. The reason for the reluctance of the big cities to adopt the manager plan is the subject of bitter dispute. Some assert that it is due to the inherent inadaptability of the plan to big city government. Others contend that the greater relative strength in large cities of the political party organizations, everywhere hostile to the plan, is responsible. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that more than a generation has passed since the manager plan was first widely publicized without its having made perceptible headway in the biggest cities where high class professional direction of administration is more poignantly needed than anywhere else.

The next prime objective in the field of internal municipal organization must be to find a solution of this "big city" problem. It may be found in the experiments now being tried in several cities in associating a professional administrator with an elective and intensely political mayor with almost unlimited executive power. There are excellent British precedents for professional officers at all levels of government who successfully guide the discretion of their lay superiors, just as there are German examples of an appointive city executive combining in one professional person the functions of a mayor and manager. The current experiments must be watched and their results analyzed in a spirit at once cordial and critical. If the results are negative still other experiments must be encouraged. Certainly the atmosphere in which an administrative coadjutor of a political mayor can attain any high level of success can be produced on a permanent basis only by continuous citizen pressure on that key figure.

Control of Personnel

Another spot in the internal organization of city government where changed conditions call for new strategy is in the control of personnel. Technical progress in personnel administration has been considerable but it is continually more and more evident that citizen pressure is essential to maintaining the integrity of any civil service system. The personnel experts cannot guarantee the good faith of the politicians with whom they must work, only the people can see to that. Moreover the increased numbers and unionization of municipal employees has created a new source of power in the employees themselves whose apparent interests are not always those of the community at large. Employee unions are apparently here to stay. How customary union policies are to be reconciled with the economical performance of city services in the face of the fact that the productivity

of most city employees cannot be increased as pay is raised and hours of work shortened is already a crucial problem which cannot be solved by reference to any existing program.

The founders of the National Municipal League had a strong but negative interest in state-city relations. They saw in the constant meddling of the state legislature in city affairs a very fruitful source of bad and irresponsible government. They therefore went all out for a rather vaguely defined something called "home rule." The phrase had a great deal of popular appeal. It is impossible to deny that the people of any unit of local government should be free to determine their own form of government and their own policies, provided that in so doing they do not contravene the measures necessary for the welfare of the state as a whole. Considerable progress has been made toward the general recognition of this principle though there are states like Connecticut with no constitutional guarantees of home rule at all and others where such guarantees are frequently nullified by legislative intrusion supported by strained judicial interpretation.

Metropolitan Problem

There is also at least one field of activity which must occupy a major share of citizen attention in the immediate future, in which the principle of home rule has been stretched to block progress. The reader scarcely needs to be reminded that when Henry Ford and his competitors put almost everyone on wheels they created a movement of population into the suburbs of cities which has produced vexatious problems of organization, finance and service, commonly lumped together as the "metropolitan problem." This problem is currently unsolved and, of all the issues of municipal existence, presents what can properly be called the greatest challenge to citizen open-mindedness, good sense and initiative. In every effort to bring about governmental integration in metropolitan areas, one is met by the alleged right of every existing unit in the area to a continued legal existence indefeasible except by its own act.

In other words, not only are the people entitled to govern themselves in such units as exist but also the state is assumed to have exhausted its authority to alter the boundaries of any such unit by the mere act of creating it. In Ohio, for example, an election on the subject of incorporation can be initiated by a petition signed by 30 citizens of an area which they describe in the petition. The county commissioners have no option but to call the election and, if a majority vote in favor of incorporation, a new municipal unit has been created which can stand until judgment day unless by vote of its own citizens it gives up this inalienable right to eternal existence. The absurdity of such a condition is obvious. We must be careful in our advocacy of home rule—and the principle is still a good one—to limit its meaning to the right of the people to govern themselves in whatever units the policy of the

state provides. If we do not we shall be giving aid and comfort to the enemy in one of the most significant areas of conflict between stagnation and progress in the second half of the twentieth century.

Obviously the status of home rule must be settled at the state level. The same is true, though not necessarily to the same extent, of any constructive solution of the metropolitan problem. Most states have provided some procedure by which annexation of territory to a city may be carried out. Except in Virginia, where annexation is effected by a judicial proceeding in which a three-judge court settles the matter on its merits, and Texas and a few other states where annexation of unincorporated territory requires only a resolution of the city council, annexation calls for a majority vote in favor on the part of the area to be annexed. This means that annexations of unincorporated sections take place seldom and incorporated places almost never.

The general adoption of the essentials of the Virginia procedure would enable cities in general to keep their political boundaries in line with their economic and social boundaries. It would require a great effort on the part of interested citizens on a statewide scale. Several times in the last 25 years integration of particular metropolitan areas on a so-called "borough" plan have been suggested, only to be rejected.

Fresh interest in this type of metropolitan solution has been aroused by the recent creation of The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. More significant than the terms of this union of Toronto and twelve suburban municipalities is the fact that it was enacted without referendum of any kind by the legislature of the province of Ontario. Some form of integration had been more or less acrimoniously discussed for years. Separate proposals for consolidation by Toronto and one small suburb had been heard at great length by the Ontario Municipal Board with no sign of agreement. Then the provincial parliament took a hand and said, "This is it."

It seems too much to expect that the politicians in a dozen or twenty suburbs—large toads in small puddles—will voluntarily consent to their own extinction or to any serious curtailment of their powers. In any contest with the "big town" these local politicians usually have the sympathy of the suburban population afraid of increased taxes and distrustful of the kind of government to be expected from their larger neighbor. Where so many conflicting interests exist the state must in some way or other assume the role of arbiter.

Thus the battle for metropolitan integration must be fought on two fronts at once—local and state. Even to get a chance at a local referendum on a borough or other plan of consolidation in most states would require a constitutional amendment or statutory changes or both. It looks as if a great deal of citizen action will be necessary before the metropolitan problem ceases to be a mere subject of conversation and

becomes an issue of practical politics.

Another field in which state action is imperatively necessary is that of local government finance. The days when the general property or real estate tax sufficed to provide comfortable city revenues have been gone so long as to create the suspicion in many people that they never existed. No local government can be good government unless it has the means to finance the services which modern municipal standards require. Most cities are short of money. Where can they get more? From the profits of municipal utilities? New taxes? State or federal grants? State-collected, locally-shared taxes? These are questions which can be settled only at the state level and with the concurrence of the federal government. They have got to be settled soon or else.

It is clear that a citizen interested in the welfare of his city has willy-nilly to be vitally interested in state government, its organization and procedures, and especially the working of the representative system in the state legislature, at this writing the weakest link in the governmental chain from town hall to White House. These things are vital to the citizen not only for what the state may do to him directly but also because an active, progressive and cooperative state government is essential to the vigor and efficiency of local institutions.

Finally, there must be some revision of the procedures by which citizen action takes place. We have to give up expecting that the reflection of citizen will in city councils can be immediately secured by the wide adoption of proportional representation. The writer of this article, in the portion of the "Upson" survey of Cincinnati[2] relating to the council, recommended P.R. for that city and is proud of it. It has worked well there and everywhere else where it has had a fair trial, including New York City. There has, however, been a great deal of difficulty in selling P.R. to a municipal public too impatient to try to understand the details of the count. In view of this fact, and the constitutional obstacles to use of P.R. in some states, it is necessary to devise a "next best" method of election for recommendation where P.R. cannot be adopted.

"Nonpartisanship" has been a basic tenet of municipal reform doctrine from the League's origin on. It is based on the common-sense fact that there is no such thing as Republican asphalt or Democratic sewer pipe. The nonpartisan idea has been accepted at least to the extent of removing the party label from the municipal ballot in more than half the cities of the country. So far so good, because it has made independent candidacies and independent voting somewhat easier. However, not only are there still many localities in which there are no legal restrictions on party activity in local elections, but also many

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[2] *The Government of Cincinnati and Hamilton County,* Survey Directed and Edited by Lent D. Upson. Cincinnati, 1924.

The League and the Future

Responsibilities and opportunities have not diminished; they are greater now than they ever were in past years.

By CHARLES A. BEARD*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from an article by Dr. Beard appearing in the League's 50th anniversary issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1944, pages 503-510.

IN JANUARY 1894, the associational spirit, so long evident in American society, found expression in the formation of the National Municipal League, "composed of associations formed in American cities for the improvement of municipal government." The call for the first meeting was sponsored by many eminent leaders of the time, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Carl Schurz, Charles W. Eliot, Richard T. Ely and Charles J. Bonaparte.

But among the rank and file of men and women who carried the main burden of the work done by the League were innumerable persons whose names seldom if ever appear in written histories of the age and are utterly unknown to their beneficiaries. This anonymity is also a characteristic of most associational activities. Those who labor and bear burdens find their rewards in good work conscientiously done, not in the prestige and emoluments sought by the ambitious.

Like many associations the League at first had no very comprehensive program of action. Perhaps the leading idea of the men who sponsored it was the belief that good government could be achieved if good men were elected to places of power in municipal government.

Broadly speaking, its development has fallen into three stages. At first it served as a kind of clearing house for information on municipal government and activities and as a point of contact for thousands of men and women in all parts of the country who were laboring to improve conditions in their own communities. At the annual conferences of the League papers on various phases of municipal government were read and discussed.

What may be called for convenience the second stage in the development of the League began in 1912 when a quarterly journal, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was substituted for the annual volume containing papers presented at the annual conference.

Two general ideas controlled this undertaking. The first was to reach a wider audience and maintain a more continuous discussion of municipal concerns than was possible by the publication of a bulky volume of proceedings each year. The sec-

*Dean of American historians, Dr. Beard (now deceased) taught politics at Columbia University from 1907 to 1917, then became director of the Training School for Public Service in New York City. In 1922 he went to Tokyo as advisor to the Institute of Municipal Research. Dr. Beard, author of many well known books on American government and history, was former president of the American Historical Association, American Political Science Association and the National Association of Adult Education.

ond idea which the editors had in mind was to give extended consideration to municipal functions as well as to the machinery of city government.

Particularly under the leadership of Richard S. Childs, the National Municipal League entered upon the third stage of its career. The quarterly REVIEW was changed into a monthly REVIEW. Emphasis was laid again upon the machinery of city government and campaigns were launched to promote the adoption of the city manager form of government. The REVIEW no longer attempted to cover all the functions and services of city government. Model charters and other documents pertaining to government, administration and civil service were published; a consultant service was established.

In other words, the League continued and expanded its function as a clearing house for collecting and distributing information on the arts, sciences and methods of municipal improvement.

In the long course of the League's history, the position and functions of the city in American society have actually undergone a revolution. It is no longer a question of an autonomous municipality well governed within its borders. While the city has been gaining more home rule in respect to its form of government and many of its functions, its relations to state government have multiplied in many directions—financial, legal and operational, for instance. Furthermore new connections with the federal government and its numerous agencies have been established. Some of these connections are through the state government, others are direct. Was it not the federal government that came to the aid of cities during the great depression when they were threatened with bankruptcy?

It is no longer enough to consider municipal affairs mainly in terms of home rule, model charters and autonomous forms of government. Instead of easing the strain of thought about municipal government, the intense specialization of recent years has intensified it, has raised a new issue. Who is to do the general thinking about municipal government that encompasses all the disparate specialties, that gives unity to them, that considers the city as a self-governing body of citizens in its new relations to the state government and the federal government?

Herein lies, as I am given to see things, the opportunity of the National Municipal League to enter upon the fourth stage of its development, by taking leadership in fostering anew the general consideration of the whole art and science of municipal government in relation to state and federal affairs. This would, of course, be no sharp break in its history. It would be indeed a continuation and expansion of the general interest in municipal affairs that marked its first stage of development, combined with the several interests which were subsequently taken into account, and a new consideration of the whole field in the light of the present setting—as we face the future. If it be said that

this is emphasis on theory, my answer is that all practice springs out of some theory, precise or muddled, and that without theory practice is rudderless.

In its membership and among its officials the National Municipal League has a body of citizens who, whatever their special concerns, have a general interest in the whole city—its place, role, functions and obligations in American society. No other association in the country is so constituted. No other organization is, in my opinion, so well fitted to look at the city as a whole, in relation to all its responsibilities. None is better prepared to promote the development and diffusion of knowledge pertaining thereunto, thereby more effectively equipping American citizens for those indispensable tasks which transcend, while making use of, each and every specialization—tasks which must be assumed if the ideal of the city just, efficient and beautiful is to be more than a shimmering mirage.

Many indefeasible tendencies of the times mark out for the League this more general opportunity and function in the years ahead. Although the League throughout its existence has laid emphasis on the methods, processes and mechanics of municipal improvement, leaders in the organization and, no doubt, most of the rank and file, have taken a double view of their work. The techniques of municipal improvement have been regarded as expressions of enlightened civic interest and as instruments for the accomplishment of civic ideals.

At the same time one of the supreme purposes of the League, from the beginning, has been the development of an informed, responsible and active citizenry capable of using such instrumentalities in the public interest. In short the League's model charters, model laws and other standards for guidance in municipal affairs have not been looked upon as ends in themselves but as agencies for the achievement of ends related to the good life in municipalities; to the preparation of citizens for efficient participation in public affairs and for the enjoyment of the activities associated with this participation.

In the experiences of social practice and of education is to be found one of the prime secrets of such success as Americans have achieved in the discharge of their civic responsibilities. No people can govern themselves on a large scale until they have acquired or developed the capacity to govern themselves on a small scale. From colonial times American society and political institutions have expressed this idea and have been so organized as to permit and encourage self-government in communities. On this basis rest the states and the union of states. And civic education in our schools now seeks to give youth knowledge of this complicated system and to encourage habits of participation.

Thus care for civic education merges in the growing consciousness of the American people that, apart from their individual interests, they are members of this great society and, as citizens, must function in

groups—political and private. It is by the conduct of and coordination of such activities that they can keep alive the capacity for self-government and preserve those social decencies and liberties which are to be regarded as the prime values of American civilization.

To success in self-governing activities great bodies of workable knowledge and continuous readjustments in the light of "stubborn and irreducible facts" are indispensable. If this be true, and I believe it is, then the National Municipal League, as it enters upon a new stage in its long course, will face still greater challenges to the civic talents that it can muster.

AN OLD MASTER SPEAKS

(Continued from page 459)

others in which the absence of the party label on the ballot does not prevent the parties from vigorous and open participation.

The doctrine of nonpartisanship has also carried with it the idea that local citizen organizations must be organized across party lines. Some have been notably successful but most, it must be admitted regretfully, have been short-lived. This is not merely because citizens become weary but because "good government," once it has been attained, no longer in itself supplies a sufficient rallying cry for an active political group.

It is not suggested that we abandon ticket-splitting in municipal elections or restore party labels to the ballot. It is suggested, however, that a study be made of the procedures best adapted to influencing the result of elections in places where in law or fact nonpartisanship does not exist. This may prove to be some form of intra-party organization and activity or, again, it might be an organized plan of throwing weight from one party to the other, or the organization of a municipal party not dedicated exclusively to good government as an abstraction but with a vigorous attitude on local as contrasted with national issues.

However it is done, some means of vitally affecting the situation in party-ruled cities must be evolved or the scope of municipal reform is going to be limited to the relatively few places where genuine nonpartisanship prevails in city affairs. Moreover, if, as has been suggested, a wider field of activity in state government is to be anticipated, it is obvious that on that level the municipal reformer must contend with political parties on their native heath.

On the whole, no reader of this article needs, in the manner of Alexander, to weep because there is nothing new to be done in the arena of municipal affairs. As a rough-and-ready civil war general is reputed to have said to a fuss-and-feathers colonel of a brand new regiment who demanded to know where he "should go in," "Go in anywhere, Colonel, there's lovely fighting all along the line."

Citizens v. Boss: Citizens Win

Kansas City 20 years ago was one of nation's worst run communities; fearless leaders made it one of the best.

By LYMAN FIELD*

A CITY dying, losing population, its physical plant doomed to deliberate neglect and deterioration. . . . Intimidated citizens casting ballots under malevolent snouts of tommyguns. . . . "Ghosts," 65,000 of them, winning elections regularly. Prostitution, gambling and dope-peddling unchecked, often protected by city police. That was Kansas City, Missouri, through most of the 1930s. That was Kansas City, Missouri, under the domination and ruthless exploitation of the Pendergast political machine. That was "Tom's Town."

Today Kansas City has earned a new title. Three times winner of the All-America Cities Award, her city manager the first recipient of the La Guardia award for civic activities, Kansas City now enjoys a world-wide reputation for civic enterprise and administrative excellence. As recently as last August, her citizens trooped to the polls to approve, by a whopping six-to-one majority, a $57,500,000 bond improvement program covering such diverse items as trafficways, parks, acquisition of a stadium for major league baseball and urban redevelopment. Approval of this program, in itself a startling display of pride and confidence, brought bond improvements authorized by the voters since the end of World War II to a total of $172,000,000.

Other cities have voted as much, or more, for postwar improvements; and other cities have writhed under the rule of corrupt political machines. Yet none of them has experienced such extremes in civic fear and pride as Kansas City, where voices raised in opposition once were muzzled by kidnappings, beatings or abusive use of "police powers," where the rebellious businessman once found his place of business declared a public hazard and closed upon orders of the building commissioner, where vocal women once were threatened with physical harm or with arbitrary tax increases, and where the cardinal sin in a democracy—the practical disfranchisement of the citizens by the wholesale use of ghost voters—was once common.

How has the complete reformation from such a quagmire been achieved? Who restored the sovereignty of the people? How can a people who voted $32,000,000 in bond improvements in 1931, only to find that more than $10,000,000 was utilized illegally for private gain, recover sufficient confidence in their municipal government to ap-

*Mr. Field is a partner in the law firm of Rogers, Field and Gentry. A member of the National Youth Movement since its inception in 1932, he took an active part in the bloody election battles of 1934 while still a student at Kansas University. Mr. Field has remained a leader in Kansas City's civic affairs. He served for five years as general chairman of the Citizens' Regional Planning Council and is now in his third term as president of the Council of Social Agencies.

prove with no apparent qualm further issues of $172,000,000?

It is often said that people in America get the kind of government they deserve. This is an over-simplification of a complex problem and completely ignores the possibility that a ruthless political machine may deny citizens the ability for—not the right of, but the ability for—self-determination. To understand and to appreciate the magnitude of the triumph in Kansas City, it is necessary to comprehend how utterly complete and overwhelming was the political machine's domination of the government, the economy, the law; indeed, of life itself.

Battling the Boss

The government was one in which the opinion of the man without "connections" was scorned, as was the law when it interfered with "The Boss" or his henchmen. In fact, after 1931 the local forces of "law and order," through "home rule" as opposed to state control of the Kansas City Police Department, were actually in unholy alliance with the criminal underworld—all under the dominance of Boss Pendergast. In 1934, gangsters were able to make a brazen, broad-daylight attempt to take a federal prisoner away from officers transporting him to the penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas. Four officers and the prisoner who was to have been rescued were slain by machine guns. The same day the director of police was playing golf in Kansas City with "Machine Gun Butch" Bailey, a notorious Oklahoma desperado and gang leader. It is believed that John Lazia, Pendergast's political leader and boss of the Kansas City underworld, escorted the killers who participated in the "Union Station Massacre" to the city limits and otherwise aided their escape.

This type of arrogance typified the attitude of city officials when, in 1932, Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg began his crusade for clean government in Kansas City. His dramatic spotlighting of the legal and moral wrongs of the machine struck a sympathetic chord, and the citizens' drive to obtain a citizens' government was on. Although the price of joining the fight might be the loss of home, business or even of life, these amateurs in politics went to work with an enthusiasm which machine politicians could not approach. With the election of 1934, the first offensive against the machine was culminated.

The 1934 campaign was conducted as a family crusade. Younger citizens founded, secretly at first, the National Youth Movement, which set up at ward level a vigorous organization to combat the machine. Women left their kitchens to labor side by side with their husbands in the often thankless, and sometimes dangerous, job of fostering opposition to the machine. Typical of the workers in the 1934 election were Mr. and Mrs. C. Paul Leathers, both political amateurs, who worked together in finding precinct workers, making speeches and doing the other jobs necessary in developing an effective vote-getting organization whose heartening efforts included the union of anti-

machine Democrats and Republicans on a Citizens-Fusion ticket.

Other prominent workers included Kansas City's Mayor William E. Kemp and his wife, the late Margaret J. Kemp; Rev. D. A. Holmes, a Negro minister; Judge George S. Montgomery; Dr. A. Ross Hill; D. S. Adams; Joseph C. Fennelly; Harold W. Luhnow; Kenneth E. Midgley; Colonel Frederick Whitten; former Mayor John B. Gage and his wife, Marjorie Gage; Porter T. Hall; Charles Daniels; Russell F. Greiner; Hal Jones and the author.

Citizen Efforts Defeated

On March 27, 1934, "Bloody Tuesday," the voters went to the polls. The machine met the challenge in the only way it could—by a combination of force and fraud. Violence was centered at the polling places, where gangs of toughs acted to discourage independent voters from appearing. Anti-machine election workers were thrown into jail and held throughout the day. Tension mounted as the day wore on and it became obvious that the machine, protected by the police, was playing for keeps. The Citizens-Fusion group appealed to the governor of Missouri to call out the National Guard but their plea was ignored. And there was murder—four men slain as a result of election activity.

A tally of the votes gave the Pendergast forces a 40,000 lead over the nonpartisan ticket. Tales of fraudulent voting were as numerous as the bruises administered to the anti-machine campaigners, for the repeaters and the ghosts gave the machine an estimated 65,000 illegal votes. At this moment, the machine seemed unbeatable. The Citizens-Fusion party, disappointed and disillusioned, disintegrated; and again there was little or no organized opposition to the machine.

But the spark was there. The idealists and amateurs of the 1934 campaign had proved there was a deep-seated citizen feeling of disgust ready to combat the machine. The apathy of the man in the street toward his government was shaken. Although the first round had been lost, the citizens had exhibited a courage and a political restlessness which could be ignored no longer by outside forces—the state and federal governments.

In 1937, Governor Lloyd C. Stark appointed a nonpartisan election board, which completely reorganized the registration and voting system. Following the 1936 national election, an energetic federal district attorney, Maurice Milligan, moved into the picture and sent 259 machine workers to jail for vote fraud. And in 1939 the Kansas City police were placed under state control. A state grand jury, under fearless Judge Allen C. Southern, and federal grand jury, under Judge Albert L. Reeves, a distinguished and courageous jurist, went to work and returned wholesale indictments. A final symbolic blow to the tottering Pendergast empire came in the spring of 1939 when Tom himself was sent to jail for not including in his tax returns an amount he received in an insurance bribery case.

The crisis of 1939 meant danger to Kansas City, for she was a sick city threatened by bankruptcy and saddled with a government which for thirteen years had ignored the needs of the citizens. But the crisis also meant opportunity—a chance to reestablish the city.

The Clean-up

This opportunity was seized as numerous citizen organizations sprang to do their part in the rebuilding process. During the 30s, the Civic Research Institute, a privately-financed, nonpartisan, civic agency, had investigated and decried the machine administration's financial manipulations and violations of the city charter. Frank H. Backstrom, one of two Citizens' candidates elected in 1934, had endlessly —although hopelessly it seemed— protested the excesses of the machine. A Citizens' Audit Committee demanded of the holdover mayor that an independent audit be made. Businessmen started a clean-up committee known as the Forward Kansas City Committee. Within two months, 20,000 citizens, representing all elements in the city, had joined the organization and formed eighteen subcommittees, which conducted investigations and forced corrections to be made.

Revelations of machine misrule were featured by *The Kansas City Star* and *The Kansas City Journal Post*. The auditing firm designated to make the first independent check of city finances undertaken in thirteen years found fantastic shortages and improper expenditures. One sinking fund had a deficit of over eight million dollars. During the 1938-39 fiscal year, two million dollars in claims against the city were not even recorded.

Perhaps the most shocking of the auditors' discoveries had to do with a slush fund known as the city manager's emergency fund. Expenditures from this fund, which were illegal, were authorized solely by the city manager. Starting in 1931 with a deposit of $500, almost $6,000,000 passed through the fund during the next eight years.

Citizen investigators looked further than just fiscal matters. They found that there were no records stating how many employees were on the city payroll. The mayor estimated there were 3,500, but the citizens found the actual number to be 5,200 and forced a payroll reduction of 1,000.

The stage was set for the final ousting of the machine politicians. Although the next city election was not scheduled until 1942, the people were determined to rid themselves of machine rule. But recall petitions were "lost" and then blocked by legal maneuvering. The citizens finally were compelled to amend the charter to reduce council terms to two years, thus forcing an election in 1940.

Leading this citizen surge that forced an early election was Harold W. Luhnow, a dynamo behind much of the organized opposition to the machine. Baptized into warfare against the machine during the 1934 election, Luhnow received more bitter lessons in machine tactics during the 1938 campaign.

At a time when business interests feared the power of Pendergast, Luhnow, president of the far-flung William Volker and Company enterprises, was extremely vocal in denouncing the machine regime as a civic disgrace and a serious threat to Kansas City's economic strength. The machine answered by raising his personal property tax assessment eight-fold, and by quadrupling the Volker concern's assessment. Luhnow's stand against Pendergast domination, however, set an example for other business leaders to follow and had much to do with business's decision to add its resources to those of the citizen warriors.

In 1939 he became chairman of the newly formed Charter party which circulated the petitions that, when signed by over 100,000 disgusted Kansas Citians, led to the election of 1940. Luhnow then directed the 1940 campaign which brought about the demise of the machine. Initial victory did not dampen his enthusiasm for citizen government. After the election he was the spark in the organization of the nonpartisan Citizens Association and became its first chairman.

Playing a major part in the campaign were more than 6,000 women. In the beginning, machine politicians scoffed at the "woman's touch" as being too idealistic and impractical, but their derision soon turned to fear as the ladies proved intensely practical. Spurred on by such dynamic leaders as Mrs. George H. Gorton,[1] Mrs. J. W. Storms, Mrs. Williston P. Munger and Mrs. Leathers, the women organized with evangelical zeal. A ward and precinct organization spanning the city was set up. Women missionaries of good government conducted a door-to-door selling campaign which covered every part of the city.

As election day drew near, brooms, symbolizing the drive to sweep clean the city hall, appeared all over the city. Small brooms were pinned to lapels and large ones were carried like muskets on the shoulders of the citizen workers.

The crusade for charter government in Kansas City was not to be denied. The United Campaign ticket swept into office with John B. Gage, candidate for mayor, leading the way as seven of the eight anti-machine council candidates were elected. The sick city had found her road to recovery.

Government by the Citizens

History is replete with examples of reform groups which have turned the rascals out and then, through apathy, allowed victory to become defeat. Sustaining interest and support in a reform movement seems most difficult once the initial, most exciting victory is achieved. The sweat and toil of truly effectuating and perpetuating citizen control of government is, at best, humdrum compared with the excitement of wresting control from a political machine.

Therefore, it is noteworthy that Kansas City, since 1926, has had approximately fourteen years of the worst and fourteen years of the best in democratic municipal government.

[1]See "Cited for Service," page 498.

Whereas much credit for this must be given to elected officials, such as former Mayor Gage and present Mayor Kemp, and to L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City's outstanding city manager, the lion's share of the credit must go to those citizens who have sustained an interest in municipal government since 1940.

Having won the initial victory, the citizens were determined to prevent the loss of all that had been gained. City business had to be open and aboveboard. Proper and complete records had to be maintained and open to public inspection at all times. Channels of communication from the citizens to the city government had to be established and maintained. Above all, reform alone was not enough. There had to be positive action and results.

To accomplish these ends, various techniques were resorted to and various types of citizen organizations were established. For example, the Citizens' Audit Committee, together with the independent auditors and the Civic Research Institute, compiled a list of 50 recommendations for improvement of the city government. Periodically the institute issued bulletins, known as *Kansas City's Scoreboard,* relating progress on these recommendations.

Perhaps the most important accomplishment, however, was the gradual breakdown of the fear and mistrust of city hall—the reestablishment of the citizens' confidence in their government.

The civic climate of Kansas City has undergone a complete metamorphosis since the dreary days of the 30s and the entire metropolitan area has reaped the benefits. Since 1940, Kansas City has had a government alert and willing to profit from citizen opinion. Given this favorable environment, there has been a renaissance of civic spirit and enthusiasm.

Population, which had decreased in the 1930s, has zoomed from 399,000 in 1940 to an estimated 481,000 at present. Bank clearings doubled from 1939 to 1940. Retail trade in 1942 was up 20 per cent over 1939. Over two hundred new industries came to Kansas City between 1939 and 1947; and the number of employees in downtown Kansas City nearly doubled from 1940 to 1950.

Sustaining Citizen Participation

To assure citizen control over municipal policies and to assure the propriety of city government activities, several citizen-type organizations have come into being in Kansas City.

Outstanding is the Citizens' Regional Planning Council. Operating with 6,000 committee members from all sections of the Greater Kansas City area, council membership represents local planning groups from a five-county, two-state area. Although the Regional Planning Council has no governmental powers, it has become most influential in long-range development simply because it is a citizens' organization.

Both the 1947 bond program of $41,000,000 and the 1954 bond program of $57,506,000 were strongly backed by the Regional Planning Council. In each case, the council

(Continued on page 507)

The National Municipal League . .

Survey Committee examines its course and objectives and finds that it is headed in the "right direction."

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the major portion of a report by a Survey Committee,[1] as amended and approved by the League's Council on May 7, 1954. The committee was appointed by President George Gallup to review *An Appraisal of the National Municipal League,* made by Dr. Joseph E. McLean of Princeton University.

AS MEMBERS of the Survey Committee analyze Dr. McLean's *Appraisal of the National Municipal League,* its basic advice breaks down into four main proposals: (1) that League objectives be restated; (2) that the Council become a more active participant in League affairs; (3) that the League develop a more effective system of communication both within and without the organization; (4) that new procedures be established for a continuing review of League program and policies.

We endorse these proposals unequivocally.

1. *Restatement of Objectives.* The draft of a proposed revised constitution[2] for the League contains in Article II a more explicit statement of objectives. The wording will help sustain the League's long standing position with the Internal Revenue Bureau as an organization qualifying for tax deductible contributions.

2. *More Active Council Participation.* We find that for the last several years there has been a steady trend toward greater participation by Council members in League affairs. It is important that this trend continue. We offer the following suggestions for strengthening it:

a. The provisions of the proposed revision of the constitution which would:

(1) Enlarge the Executive Committee and make it more representative;

(2) Clearly fix the Council's right to establish League committees and determine how they shall be appointed;

(3) Require that minutes and reports of action by the Executive Committee be transmitted promptly to all members of the Council;

(4) Eliminate provisions regarding classes of membership and dues from the constitution, thus making them subject to by-laws which may be adopted either at a meeting of the Council or by majority of the Council in a mail vote;

(5) Permit the Council or Executive Committee to designate the chairman of any League committee to serve as a member of the Council.

b. Continuation by the Council of the precedent being set this year of having two all-day meetings, one at the time of the National Conference on Government, the other in the spring.

c. A policy of including as many Council members as possible on each of the working committees responsible for development of the League's program in such fields as state government, municipal government, county government, etc.

3. *More Effective Communication.* This is extremely important not only to insure orderly and responsible planning and carrying out of League programs but also to improve liaison with political scientists and other professional groups and to obtain wider use and acceptance of League services.

Internal communication within the League, particularly communication that

[1] Members of the committee were: Chairman, Cecil Morgan, counsel, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey); Bayard H. Faulkner, vice president, Seaboard Oil Company; Lloyd Hale, president, G. H. Tennant Company; Frank C. Moore, president, Government Affairs Foundation; and James M. Osborn, Yale University.

[2] See page 475.

will enable the Council to exercise its over-all responsibilities more confidently and effectively, will be greatly facilitated by the proposed changes in the constitution and by some of the other methods outlined above. In like manner the recommendations on the subject of continuing review of program and policies should substantially improve League relations with political scientists and other professionals and develop a closer rapport between the Council and the experts who contribute so vitally and generously of their time and talents to the League. Strengthening of existing communications media and the development of new ones, including films and TV, should be a major concern of the proposed Committee on Program and Policy suggested below.

Additional Recommendations

In the light of specific recommendations in the McLean Report, we make the following additional suggestions:

a. The League's field work should be stepped up as rapidly as resources permit. The use of properly qualified volunteers and the practice of sending regular headquarters staff into the field are the only practical methods of meeting the demand for field service until there is enough money to augment the headquarters staff itself. Without an adequate central organization, a field staff is ineffective and the selection and use of volunteers is necessarily limited. When funds permit, the League should consider the establishment of small field offices for better contact with citizen groups and political scientists and for better liaison with Council members and finance chairmen scattered around the country.

b. That a more regular system of communications with state correspondents and with others in the field be developed. In this connection members of the League's Council should, so far as their time and interest permit, serve as agents of communication between the League and the groups and areas with which they have helpful contacts.

c. That so far as practicable the League should encourage and cooperate with others in holding regional meetings, with a view to providing programs tailored to current civic needs in different parts of the country and to reaching people who are unable to attend the National Conference on Government. Since we have found that it would take substantially larger staff and resources for the League to organize its own regional meetings on any frequent or regular basis, we conclude that the best way to accomplish the desired objects is to take advantage of the regularly scheduled regional meetings of professional associations, universities and civic groups.

4. *Continuing Review of Program and Policies.* We find that the program and policies of the League and the political concepts underlying them have always been under continuous scrutiny and review by the League's working committees and staff and, ultimately, by the officers and Council. Tested by results and the growth of the League in prestige and influence, this has proved to be a basically sound and effective procedure. We believe, however, that it can and should be strengthened and supplemented to meet the requirements of a rapidly changing world and civic scene.

We find that steps in this direction have already been taken. For the last several years the National Conference on Government has been used as an occasion for scheduling sessions especially designed to get expert review and criticism of specific League models or doctrines or to

advise on possible new projects. Perhaps the best example is the Charter Clinic in which leading charter draftsmen and consultants have given critical examination to the *Model City Charter* and to preliminary drafts of the *Model County Charter*.

More recently, "a continuing seminar" on the application of basic political concepts to the League's program has been inaugurated. The seminar is a flexible plan for taking advantage of every opportunity to bring together a half dozen or more persons who can help the League keep the factual and theoretical basis of any of its programs in line with the latest knowledge and most authoritative thinking. We urge continuing and greater use of these procedures.

Advisory Committee

As a major addition to the facilities for continuing appraisal of the League's program and activities, we strongly endorse the recommendation in the McLean Report of a standing Advisory Committee on Program and Policy. The committee should be established by the Council in accordance with the constitution. The chairman of the committee should be a Council member and the committee should be composed of Council members and others, both laymen and professionals.

As the name implies, the committee would be an exploratory and advisory body. Partly in order to insure its complete freedom to explore any subject which it deems pertinent, and to evaluate objectively any phase of the League's work, it should be entirely free of operating or policy-*determining* responsibilities. It would report to and *advise* the Council, Executive Committee, officers and staff on both policy and operations.

The committee would have a roving commission to review any League doctrine or program, to explore possible new areas for League activity and to examine or audit the way in which various League services and activities, such as the National Municipal Review, the National Conference on Government and publications generally are actually conducted. It should be especially helpful in coordinating the thinking and work of the various functional committees and in calling attention to possible points of over- or under-emphasis. It should be able to insure that the Council has at all times the kind of information that will enable it to satisfy itself as to the validity and soundness of the League's diverse operations.

At this point we think it should be noted that the nature of the League and the varied and sometimes rather technical aspects of its program make it impossible to expect every one connected with it to be in complete agreement on every subject upon which the League speaks. It is certain that there is not a single League model or guide upon all the details of which all of its authors agree. It is not, therefore, important or even possible that every member of the Council should approve or be ready to go to bat personally for every League project. What is important is that the Council and its members have a good general understanding of what is going on, have confidence in the persons and processes that produce each League program and be satisfied that the programs themselves are consistent with the League's over-all philosophy and objectives as stated in the constitution.

The League in its 60 years of civic activity has built a huge fund of experience and tradition which should not be tampered with or radically changed without careful study. To the extent that change or departure from present practices and concepts is indicated, it should be accomplished in an evolutionary and orderly way.

Fortunately, as we have already indicated, we find that the process by which the League program has been developed is essentially sound, involving, as it always has, cooperation of the leading authorities recognized for their professional compe-

tence, their intellectual integrity and their ability to reflect the best and sanest thinking of the day on the subjects included in the League's program and arsenal of models and guides. If this were not the case, it would not have been possible for Dr. Frank Mann Stewart to conclude his careful study, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform—The History of the National Municipal League*,[3] with the following paragraph:

> The National Municipal League is a school of thought that stabilizes reform along sound and practical lines; it represents the consensus of opinion of thinking people as to what local government should be. It has been and is the heart of the municipal reform movement in the United States.

Program and Policy

In recommending creation of the Advisory Committee on Program and Policy, we do not propose that it should supersede the established procedure which has proved successful in the past. We see the committee simply as a logical extension of the procedure, to provide a mechanism through which the program as a whole can have the same kind of review that each of its parts has had and to help the Council inform itself on how each part relates to the League's total mission.

Project coordination, including coordination of research and inventions, and liaison with professional and civic groups, has always been, and should be, a primary responsibility of the League's professional staff. We find that the staff has done excellent work in broadening the League's outlook and influence and in keeping pace with developments in the field of political science. As funds permit, the staff should be broadened and strengthened so that it can meet more fully the growing demand for League services and provide the additional staff assistance that will be required by an active Committee on Program and Policy.

Problem of Money

While Dr. McLean does not make any specific recommendation as to the size of the League's budget or the need for additional funds, it is clear that the program and operations envisioned by the report call for a substantial increase in the League's regular budget. This is in accordance with the thinking and plans that the League has developed during the last few years.

Much can be done along the lines already indicated to enhance the League's effectiveness and to increase participation in its work by Council members and others. However, we must emphasize the fact that the value of such an innovation as the Committee on Program and Policy and the rate at which it will be possible to improve communications will depend to a large extent on a continuation of the recent trend toward a larger annual budget.

Dr. McLean has mentioned as especially worthy of review from a program point of view the League's attitude toward the place of partisanship in local elections and the whole matter of party responsibility and organization, the developing experience with the so-called mayor-administrator plan of city government, proportional representation and other methods of election of city councils and state legislatures, the changing relations between federal, state and local governments with particular attention to the position of the states in our system and the problems of government and citizen control in burgeoning metropolitan areas.

As we have indicated earlier, questions of this sort should not be dealt with summarily. They should, as in the past, be subjected to continuing study and any decidedly new or changed position should be carefully considered. The continuing seminar of political scientists can be very helpful to the League in guiding the

[3] University of California Press, Berkeley, 1950.

course of change involving basic political concepts.

There are, however, a few specific matters of program discussed by Dr. McLean to which we have given special attention.

1. *Proportional Representation.* We devoted one whole day to discussing P.R.

Our study confirmed the impression derived from the McLean Report that the issue for the Council to consider at this time is not the theoretical merits or demerits of P.R. The question is rather one of how to deal with it in a manner which will best serve the interests of those cities where P.R. is now or may be used and the interests of the communities where P.R. is not a desired or attainable civic objective.

We were impressed by emphatic testimony from Cincinnati, Worcester and Cambridge, where the leading advocates and supporters of good government appear to be convinced that proportional representation is essential to the general good government which they have long enjoyed with their P.R.–council-manager charters.

We make the following recommendations:

a. In future editions of the League's *Model Charters* and *Model State Constitution* spell out in draft form alternate election methods for the benefit of those communities where P.R. is not legally or politically feasible.

b. Issue a separate model set of rules, in the form of an enabling act, for the conduct of P.R. elections. With this document available the detailed rules could be left out of the *Model City Charter*.

c. Substitute for the P.R. department of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW a department on the broader subject of elections and representation. In this department and in occasional articles we could fulfill our agreement with the P.R. League to provide an outlet for legitimate news and writing on P.R. in place of the old *Proportional Representation Review*. We believe this treatment of P.R. would be more effective than the single-purpose P.R. department. That P.R. gets more attention when treated along with other methods of election has been demonstrated at the last two National Conferences on Government in the sessions on broad problems of representation in local governments which have replaced the old sessions devoted exclusively to P.R.

Mayor-Administrator Form

2. *The Mayor-Administrator Form of Government in Big Cities.* Dr. McLean recommends that the League take the lead in assembling and evaluating recent experiments with this system. We find that the League has been watching closely the as yet rare experiments of this kind and has given extensive consultative and other assistance in connection with charter proposals for variations on the mayor-administrator plan in Philadelphia, New Orleans, Newark, New York and other places. We recommend that this be continued to the end that the League may so far as practicable carry out the recommendation of the McLean Report.

3. *A Model Municipal Optional Charter Law.* We endorse the recommendation in the McLean Report that such a model be scheduled as a high priority project.

4. *Intergovernmental Relations and the Federal System.* We endorse Dr. McLean's recommendation that the League accelerate its activities in this field and "assist in promoting a better understanding of the nature of our present day federal system." We also endorse his emphasis upon the crucial importance of state government and metropolitan area problems, including the status of urban counties.

We find that these matters have in recent years had increasing attention in the

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Proposed New Constitution

Explanatory Memorandum

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The proposed revised constitution for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE, set forth below, is hereby submitted to members as provided by the present constitution. It has been recommended by the Council for adoption at the annual membership meeting, to be held November 8 in conjunction with the National Conference on Government, Kansas City (Missouri), November 8-10.

IN ITS deliberations, the Survey Committee[1] considered the recommendations of *An Appraisal of the National Municipal League,* by Dr. Joseph E. McLean of Princeton University, and suggested a number of amendments to the League's constitution. There were two particular fields of inquiry, one with respect to the nature, objects and purposes of the League and the other with respect to adapting the constitution to the requirements of its everyday operation. The McLean report suggested a more active participation by members of the Council in the affairs of the League and an effort was made in the drafting of the proposed amendments to make possible such greater participation.

Nature and Purposes. The statement of objects contained in Article II has been rewritten under the title, "Nature and Purposes." The new statement reflects more clearly, fully and explicitly the extent and nature of the program. It puts greater emphasis on the educational nature of the League's work and on the fact that its service is primarily to citizens.

Membership. The new Article III includes specifically the provision that organizations as well as individual persons may be members. This is the intent of the present provision and has always been the case in practice. Details as to dues, classes and conditions of membership are deleted from the revised article as matters of detail which appropriately should be left to the discretion of the Council.

Government. Article IV—*Council and Officers*—and Article V—*Committees*—are combined in the proposed revision as a new Article IV—*Government.* It is felt that the content of the two present articles is so closely related it appropriately should be treated in a single article.

Specific provision is made that the president, vice presidents and treasurer be members of the Council. Actual practice has long assumed that this is the intent of the present constitution.

The 1938 amendment providing that members of the Council elected for three-year terms may not be eligible to succeed themselves before the lapse of one year has been incorporated in this article. A complication caused by this amendment is the situation in which a standing League committee is chaired by a Council member whose term expires. A new provision (section 8) permits the Council or the Executive Committee to designate a committee chairman as an *ex officio* member of the Council.

The membership of the Executive Committee has been increased to include the president, first and second vice presidents, chairman of the Council and treasurer. In practice officers must meet with the Executive Committee on particular matters. Further, the increased membership will provide for a more adequate deliberative group with a quorum set at five members (see Article VI-4).

In order to facilitate Council review and control on matters of policy, it is provided that minutes and reports of action by the Executive Committee shall be transmitted promptly to members of the Council.

Other proposed sections make provision for filling vacancies between meetings of

[1]For the report of the Survey Committee, see page 470.

the Council, for designating an acting treasurer or acting secretary if need be, and for clarifying the role of the Executive Committee and the executive director.

Elections and Referenda. No changes in substance are proposed in this article. A provision for the filling of unexpired terms on the Council is added.

Subsidiary Organizations. The proposed revision deletes the present Article VII, *Subsidiary Organizations,* as no longer required. Such organizations have not existed for a number of years and there is serious doubt as to the desirability of this arrangement.

Meetings, Liabilities and Disbursements, By-laws. Only minor changes in procedural provisions are proposed.

Amendments. Amendments to the constitution approved by mail vote of the Council are permitted under the revised article.

The present constitution was adopted at the annual meeting, September 20, 1932, in Washington, D. C., and amended November 1938.

Text of Proposed Constitution

Article I

NAME

The name of this association shall be the National Municipal League.

Article II

NATURE AND PURPOSES

1. The National Municipal League is a non-profit, non-partisan educational association of individuals and organizations dedicated to the proposition that informed, competent citizens, participating fully in public affairs in their home communities, are the key to good local, state and national government.

2. It is established in order to multiply the number, harmonize the methods and combine the forces of those who are interested in developing citizens who know how to work together for progressive improvement of our system of government with special attention to the need for more vigorous and responsible state and local institutions.

3. This objective shall be achieved through programs and activities designed for the following purposes:

To conduct and promote research and encourage creative thinking in the fields of government and administration, intergovernmental relations, public opinion and civic organization;

To hold and participate in conferences, institutes, workshops and seminars for the exploration and discussion of the application of the science, philosophy and art of government to the solution of current and emerging problems;

To sponsor and encourage formal and informal educational and training projects for civic leaders, public officials, teachers, students and other citizens;

To cooperate in efforts to enrich the content and improve the methods of civic education in schools, colleges and other institutions;

To develop and assemble informational and educational materials and to publish and disseminate them through the printed word or by any appropriate audio-visual means for the use of schools, colleges, journalists, citizens and citizen organizations;

To maintain an up-to-date library, information center and consultant service to serve the needs of educators, journalists, public officials and other citizens interested in public affairs;

To prepare practical guides, manuals, models and other working tools in the fields of government and administration, intergovernmental relations, civic education and citizen organization;

To provide media for communication and exchange of information and ideas among political scientists, public offi-

cials and lay citizens on matters of common concern;

To employ any appropriate educational means to raise the standards of citizenship, public administration and political ethics.

Article III
MEMBERSHIP

1. Individuals and organizations that support the purposes of the League shall be eligible for membership subject to approval by the Council or its authorized representative.

2. Dues, classes and conditions of membership shall be determined by the Council.

Article IV
GOVERNMENT

1. The government of the League, the direction of its work, the establishment of committees of the League and the control of its property shall be vested in a Council selected in the manner provided by this article.

2. Thirty Council members shall be elected by the League members to three-year terms, ten to be elected each year at the annual meeting of the League, provided that no member so elected shall be eligible to succeed himself before the lapse of one year. In addition, any unexpired terms of council members shall be filled by vote of the members at the annual meeting.

3. The officers of the League shall be a president, a first vice president, a second vice president, not more than twenty-five regional and honorary vice presidents, a treasurer and a secretary. The president and the vice presidents shall be elected for one-year terms by the members of the League at the annual meeting of the League. The secretary and treasurer shall be appointed by the Council. The president, the vice presidents and the treasurer shall be members of the Council by virtue of their offices and former League presidents shall be life members of the Council.

4. Officers and other members of the Council elected at the annual meeting shall assume office at the meeting of the Council next following their election and each shall serve until his successor shall be elected and assume office.

5. At its organization meeting the Council shall elect from among its members the chairman of the Council and six members to serve on the Executive Committee. The president, the first vice president, the second vice president, the chairman of the council, and the treasurer shall be *ex officio* members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall select its own chairman.

6. Subject to review by the Council, the Executive Committee shall act for it in the interim between meetings of the Council. Minutes and reports of action by the Executive Committee shall be transmitted promptly to all members of the Council.

7. Unless otherwise provided by the Council, the president shall appoint all committees of the League except the Executive Committee. No committee shall incur any indebtedness, make any expenditures or represent the League in advocacy of or opposition to any project or issue, without the specific approval of the Council or Executive Committee, or without such authority as may be clearly granted under general powers delegated to that committee by the Council.

8. By action of the Council or the Executive Committee the chairman of any League committee may be designated to serve as a member of the Council *ex officio* for the current year.

9. The Executive Committee may fill any vacancy on the Council or in any office. The term of any person appointed to fill a vacancy shall run only until the Council meeting next following the next annual meeting of the League. The Executive Committee may appoint an acting treasurer or an acting secretary to serve in the absence or disability of the treasurer or the secretary.

10. The secretary shall serve as executive director, shall be the chief administrative officer, shall have charge of the execution of the League's program, shall supervise the work of all members of the staff and employees and shall perform such other duties incident to the office as shall be required by the Council. Unless otherwise provided by the Council, he shall serve as secretary to all committees or shall designate another person so to serve.

Article V
ELECTIONS AND REFERENDA

1. *Nominations.* At least ninety days before the annual meeting of the League, a nominating committee consisting of five members shall be appointed by the president. At least thirty days before the annual meeting, the committee shall place one member in nomination for president, one member for first vice president, one member for second vice president, not more than twenty-five members for honorary and regional vice presidents, ten members for three-year terms on the Council and an additional number of members for any unexpired terms on the Council. Notice of such nominations shall be published to the membership at least thirty days before the annual meeting in a League publication, or by mail. Such notice shall include a statement that additional nominations from members of the League are in order. Such additional nominations may be made at the annual meeting at which the election shall take place.

2. *Referenda.* Provisions may be made by the Council for the submission to the members by mail, for approval or disapproval, of recommendations of the Council or any committee of the League on any question of organization policy.

Article VI
MEETINGS

1. Unless otherwise directed by the Council or the Executive Committee, the annual meeting of the League shall be held in November of each year. Special meetings of the League may be called at any time by the president, or the Council, or the Executive Committee.

2. A meeting of the Council shall be held in connection with each annual meeting of the League. Other meetings of the Council and Executive Committee, and meetings of all other committees, shall be held when called by their respective chairmen or by the president or secretary. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called upon written request of at least three members thereof on two weeks notice.

3. Reasonable notice of all meetings shall be given.

4. The following quorums shall be established: at meetings of the League those present; at meetings of the Council, twelve members; at meetings of the Executive Committee, five members; and at meetings of all other committees a majority of the members. Whenever a quorum is lacking, the action of the majority of those present may be validated by the written approval of a sufficient number of the absentees to make up the deficiency.

Article VII
LIABILITIES AND DISBURSEMENTS

No disbursements of the funds of the League shall be made unless they shall have been authorized by the Council or Executive Committee. All checks shall be signed by the secretary and countersigned by the treasurer, provided, however, that for disbursements authorized by the Council or Executive Committee, the treasurer at his option may draw blanket checks in favor of the secretary, to be disbursed in turn through checks signed by the secretary or other person designated by the treasurer and secretary.

Article VIII
BY-LAWS

The Council may adopt such by-laws, not inconsistent with the provisions of

this constitution, as shall be deemed necessary for the government of the League and the direction and control of its activities. Between meetings of the Council, by-laws proposed by the Executive Committee may be approved by a majority of the Council by a mail vote.

Article IX
AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution may be adopted by a majority vote at any meeting of the League provided a notice of the proposed change shall have been published to the members in a League publication, or by mail, not less than thirty days before such meeting. The Council or the Executive Committee may submit amendments to the membership by mail for a referendum vote. Any amendment so submitted shall be accompanied by a ballot and an explanation. Approval by a majority of those voting on the question within a reasonable time set by the Council or Executive Committee shall be sufficient for adoption.

THE N.M.L. . . . WHERE IS IT GOING?

(Continued from page 474)

National Municipal Review, at the National Conference on Government, in the League's educational and consultant service to citizens and in planning future activities.

The League always has recognized that its program deals with states, counties, cities and towns not in isolation but as vital elements in that larger entity, the United States of America. It feels that, in concentrating primarily on citizen understanding and action to strengthen state and local elements in our system, it is contributing substantially to the cause of sound government in Washington as well as at the state capitol and city hall.

As a national citizens' organization, the League is interested in our system as a whole and looks at it impartially without special professional or other attachment to a particular level or function of government. This being the case, we feel that it has a peculiar obligation to review and interpret current trends and proposals relating to the functions and responsibilities of the state and local elements in the system. We recommend that every effort be made to perform this service and at the same time to develop plans for more attention both to state and metropolitan area problems in so far as resources permit without detracting from the League's capacity to meet current needs for its established services.

In Conclusion

We concluded early in our deliberations that we could not exhaust the possibilities in the helpful ideas and suggestions in the McLean Report. This explains in part why we have concentrated on proposals which, if adopted, will facilitate continuing consideration not only of the McLean Report but of any other counsel or constructive criticism that the League may from time to time obtain.

We have necessarily concentrated on the parts of the McLean Report that have indicated the possibility of improvement. This should not lead us to lose sight of the most striking conclusion of Dr. McLean's study, which is that the League has an assured position in American life, is pointed in the right direction and is operating on basically sound principles. If his report and ours will more clearly define objectives, encourage more active interest and participation by the Council and better fit the League's work into the current panorama of local and world events, his efforts and ours will indeed have been worth while.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Many State Constitution Amendments Put to Vote

People to Pass on Major and Minor Matters Alike

VOTERS in many states will be called upon at the general election on November 2 to pass upon a wide variety of proposed amendments to state constitutions. The number to be voted on in various states range from one to 31—the latter being in Louisiana, which has the longest and most amended constitution. Subjects range from minor local matters to proposals to abolish public education. In twelve states alone a total of a hundred amendments, many of which are hardly of constitutional caliber, have been submitted to the electorate.

Some proposals have been noted in these pages earlier in the year, including five in Georgia (March, page 138), one in Maryland (May, page 244), one in Colorado (June, page 294), eight in Nebraska (July, page 349) and five in North Carolina (July, page 352). Some 78 amendments submitted in various other states include the following:

California

Of twenty amendments being submitted, one, to increase maximum old-age pensions from $80 to $100 a month, was sponsored by pension advocates; the other nineteen, initiated by the 1953 and 1954 legislatures, include one to extend the terms of state assemblymen from two years to four and those of senators from four years to six, and to limit future governors to two terms; one to increase legislators' salaries from $300 to $500 a month; one to extend the time for preparation of proposed county charters by boards of freeholders from 120 days to six months; one providing $175,000,000 to help veterans acquire farms and homes; one for $100,000,000 in loans and grants to school districts for land, buildings and equipment, the districts being required to repay according to their ability; one permitting the use of state gas taxes and motor vehicle fees for construction of off-street parking facilities; and one authorizing the legislature to repeal the Torrens land title act.

Three proposals extend property tax exemption for churches, colleges, hospitals and charities, two do likewise for certain categories of California registered ships, and one authorizes $5,000 property tax exemption to veterans who lost both legs, or their use, in service. The remaining six are for various local or specialized purposes.

Florida

Seven proposed amendments would extend biennial legislative sessions 30 days beyond the present 60 and increase legislators' pay from $10 per session day to $1,200 per annum; prohibit use of state funds for toll roads extending into more than three counties; extend the governor's time limit for vetoes from ten to twenty days at the end of the legislative session; permit the consolidation of city and county tax assessing and collecting, after local referendum; require consolidated assessing in Monroe County (Key West); permit additional county judges in counties of over 125,000 population; and provide an additional judge of the Court of Record in Escambia County (Pensacola) and grant legislative authority for additional judges there, as needed.

Louisiana

About one-third of the 31 proposals, according to the Louisiana Public Affairs Research Council, involve local issues rather than basic statewide policy. Im-

portant items in the latter group include one prohibiting future state bond issues unless approved by popular vote; one providing for annual legislative sessions, those in odd-numbered years to be limited to 30 days and to budgetary and fiscal matters; one to continue segregation in public schools under the police power of the state; and one to permit absentee registration of military personnel.

Bills providing for comprehensive revision of the constitution by an elected convention, with or without a subsequent referendum, or by the legislature itself, subject to referendum, failed of passage.

Michigan

Three amendments proposed by joint resolutions of the 1953-54 legislature relate to the following: (1) permitting a registered qualified voter who moves within 30 days prior to an election to vote in the city or township from which he moved; (2) the return to local governments, on a population basis, of one-half cent per dollar of state sales taxes and the setting aside of two cents per dollar (less collection cost) for aid to school districts and school employee retirement systems; the total sales tax to be limited to three cents; and (3) authority for a bond issue of $80,000,000 for bonuses to persons in military service during the period June 27, 1950, to December 31, 1953.

Another amendment, proposed by initiative, permits lotteries for non-profit charitable organizations but not for other purposes.

Minnesota

Four proposed amendments provide: (1) legislative authority to prescribe qualifications for probate judges and, by two-thirds vote, to establish and extend their duties; (2) elimination of the present so-called double liability of bank stockholders, the legislature to have power to regulate stockholder liability in all kinds of corporations; (3) clearing the way for a constitutional convention by specifying that any revision of the state constitution must be submitted to popular vote, that approval must be by three-fifths of those voting on the revision, and that state legislators shall be eligible for election as delegates to a constitutional convention; and (4) authority for the governor to fill a vacancy in certain state offices until the end of the term, or the first Monday in January following the next general election, whichever is sooner, and until a successor is chosen and qualified; the present requirement is for an appointment until the next annual election.

Mississippi

The legislature has submitted to the people privileged to vote an amendment giving the legislature power, by two-thirds vote, to abolish public schools in favor of state-subsidized segregated private education. This amendment will be voted on at an election on December 21. A somewhat similar amendment is being submitted in Georgia.

Texas

Eleven amendments are proposed. Among the topics are: a four-year term of office for elective district, county and precinct officers; increase in legislators' pay from $10 to $25 a day, and a grant of authority to the legislature of certain powers as to salaries of state constitutional officers; permitting the legislature to make agreements with the federal government to place employees of political subdivisions under federal social security; prohibiting pledge of state credit as to bonds for construction of toll roads; a requirement for women to serve on juries; and an increase from $45,000,000 to $52,000,000 in state spending for old-age pensions and other public aid.

Governors Discuss Federal-state Relations

At the 46th annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, held in July at Lake George, New York, one of the dom-

inant topics, at a special round table and otherwise, was the proper relationship between the state and federal governments. At the round table Chairman A. B. Langlie, governor of Washington, stressed fiscal relations and urged a halt in federal grants-in-aid, with their related controls, a transfer of various taxes to the states, and adequate payments in lieu of taxes on federal property in the states.

Meyer Kestnbaum, chairman of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, discussed its work and asked that each state indicate what programs it can take over from the federal government. Committees of various types—official or private—were reported to have been formed in 32 states to study intergovernmental relations and assist the national commission.

President Eisenhower, in an address read to the conference, emphasized the highway aspect of federal-state relations and the need of greatly increased efforts and expenditures for an adequate national highway network. He suggested the preparation of a "grand plan" for a properly articulated system to solve metropolitan, intercity and interstate highway problems; financing based on self-liquidation through gas taxes and tolls so far as possible, with federal aid where the national interest demands it; a cooperative alliance between federal and state governments, with emphasis on local control; and a program, probably to be initiated by the federal government with state cooperation, for the planning, financing and construction of a modern interstate highway system. He called for recommendations from the governors for cooperative action.

The conference adopted a resolution requesting the Council of State Governments, in cooperation with interstate governmental associations, to make a study and report on the status of highway programs and the position of the states with regard to highways, such program to be submitted to each governor and to the executive committee of the conference, and finally to President Eisenhower.

Federal Laws Contain Planning Aspects

The federal housing act of 1954 includes provisions to stimulate forward-looking municipal planning for slum elimination and to survey public works planning, efforts and accomplishments.

The act places major emphasis on the prevention of slums and urban blight and specifies that, as a condition to receiving federal assistance for slum clearance, urban redevelopment, public housing and certain housing insurance programs, municipalities must develop and place in operation a workable program for the prevention and elimination of slums and blight. Grants are authorized to state, metropolitan and regional planning agencies, to assist in surveys, land-use studies, redevelopment plans, etc.

The act authorizes a survey of the "status and extent of public works planning among the several states and their subdivisions." It is expected to be made by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, in collaboration with the Council of Economic Advisors and the Census Bureau, and to provide an index of the status of plans and the functional distribution of public works, and to be a guide to the size and cost of contemplated construction projects.

The federal aid highway act of 1954 authorizes a comprehensive study of highway financing, including toll roads, and a special study of the feasibility of the Great River Parkway for the Mississippi valley, and calls for consideration of the civil defense aspects of highways to be constructed and reconstructed. As noted elsewhere, President Eisenhower has also urged the preparation of broad plans for a national highway system.

Department of Urbiculture Proposed for U. S.

A bill to create a federal Department of Urbiculture was introduced in the last Congress by Representative J. Arthur Younger of California. Although not adopted, it attracted wide interest. The word "urbiculture" was coined by Congressman Younger as a name for a department that would do for the city population what the Department of Agriculture does for the farm population. He pointed out that when the latter department was established, in 1862, approximately 80 per cent of the nation lived on farms, whereas the situation now is reversed and most of our social and economic problems originate in city life.

AMA to Meet in Philadelphia

The American Municipal Association's 31st annual American Municipal Congress is scheduled for November 28-December 1 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia. Afterwards President Eisenhower is expected to meet in Washington with the mayors and city managers of the 220 largest cities.

IULA Congress in Rome Next Year

The twelfth Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities is scheduled for September 26–October 1, 1955, in Rome, Italy. The main topic of discussion will be local government finance and its importance to local autonomy. The second topic is cultural activities of local authorities. The American Committee for International Municipal Cooperation, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, is assisting in arrangements.

New City Contracts for Governmental Services

Lakewood, California, a newly formed city in Los Angeles County, has a population of some 66,000 but only four paid city employees, receiving approximately $2,000 a month. Most of its governmental services are supplied by the county under contract. Some of these are charged to the city on a cost basis. Others pay for themselves through fees charged to private persons. Law enforcement is provided by the sheriff, the county keeping the city's share of fines and bail forfeitures. Tax assessing and collecting are paid for through a charge to the city based on assessed valuation.

Michigan League Sponsors Municipal Report Contest

The first annual report contest to be sponsored by the Michigan Municipal League for its 380 member cities and villages will be held in 1955. Any municipal annual report published between July 1, 1954, and May 31, 1955, will be eligible. The contest will be judged by three persons not connected with the league. Prizes will be given for the best reports in various population groups.

Norfolk Woos Prospective Residents

The city of Norfolk, Virginia, is annexing, effective January 1, 1955, a large adjacent area with some 55,000 residents and is conducting among them a campaign of education in municipal government. Marvin W. Lee, administrative assistant to City Manager H. H. George, 3rd, states:

"The city is embarking upon a program to orient these people before they become citizens of Norfolk. We are going to send eight newsletters, two weeks apart, to the residents of this to-be-annexed area, and in each issue we are going to explain various departments and their functions in the city. The newsletters will use many photos, charts and other graphic illustrations.

"Beyond this basic medium we are organizing a comprehensive public relations program using all the conventional media. We want these people to feel that they are being warmly welcomed by the city

and we want them to become informed citizens."

Municipal Government Study Offered at the Hague

Under the Fulbright program in comparative municipal government it will be possible for a pre-doctoral fellow to spend the academic year 1955-56 in the Netherlands, serving chiefly at the headquarters of the International Union of Local Authorities at the Hague.

Normal conditions of Fulbright predoctoral candidacy apply. Applicants must be under age 35. The grant provides for living comfortably but not luxuriously for about nine months and for ocean round-trip transportation. There is no allowance for dependents. The working language of the IULA secretariat is English.

In outlining his proposed plan of study, the candidate should state his intention of working under the sponsorship of a professor at a Dutch university accredited by the Fulbright board, but with emphasis on field work at IULA headquarters. The names of available Dutch professors and additional information about IULA and its program can be obtained from Charles S. Ascher, associate director, Public Administration Clearing House, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York.

Council Manager Plan Developments

On September 14 EDINA, MINNESOTA, (1950 population 9,744) adopted the village manager plan, 2,677 to 530.

The board of trustees of FARMINGTON, NEW MEXICO, (1950 population 3,637) has adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance and has appointed a manager.

TULIA, TEXAS, (3,222) voted 596 to 99 on April 6 in favor of the council-manager plan.

Mayor P. K. Hanson of GARDINER, MAINE, has appointed a city charter committee and is facilitating the discussion and drafting of charter changes particularly including the manager plan.

SEA GATE, a residential area in the borough of Brooklyn, New York City, controlled by a private corporation, now has a so-called city manager who will have various duties similar to those of a manager of an independent municipality. The newly appointed manager is from the staff of L. P. Cookingham, manager of Kansas City, Missouri, and is reported by the *Kansas City Star* to be the 24th member of the "Cookingham alumni association"—a group of young men who have taken city manager or similar positions after working under Mr. Cookingham.

In YONKERS, NEW YORK, a council-manager city, the Republican city committee is campaigning to change the city charter at a November 2 referendum so as to elect the city council at large instead of by wards. Six councilmen would be chosen at large for four-year terms, instead of one from each of twelve wards for two-year terms as at present.

The charter commission of the township of CEDAR GROVE, NEW JERSEY, has recommended the council-manager plan.

In CLARKESVILLE, GEORGIA, a council-manager charter approved by the legislature failed of adoption at the city election. It is expected to be voted on again within the next few months.

Voting on their preference for the manager plan, a "full-time mayor" plan or their present mayor-council system, the people of FOREST PARK, GEORGIA, chose to retain the present plan.

A citizens committee has been formed in the village of WORTHINGTON, OHIO, to study the pros and cons of the council-manager plan.

In JOLIET, ILLINOIS, a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan has been scheduled for November 2, the time of the general election, provided certain problems as to use of county election facilities and personnel

for the special election can be worked out.

The Macon County Court on August 9 directed the city council of DECATUR, ILLINOIS, to call an election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan, to be held in not less than 30 days and not more than 120 days. Petitions bearing 2,775 names, requesting the election, were approved.

NORTH ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, voted 831 to 511 on August 3 to retain the manager plan, which was adopted in 1951 by a vote of 660 to 511.

HOT SPRINGS, SOUTH DAKOTA, voted 783 to 284 on August 3 to retain the manager plan, adopted in 1951.

In KANSAS CITY, KANSAS, where the three city commissioners on March 4 created the position of administrative officer, with a salary of $8,292, the Citizens League points out that the commissioners receive more than $22,000 per annum and declares, "Either we should adopt the city manager plan or elect three city commissioners who will run the city."

The city council of HARTSHORNE, OKLAHOMA, has voted to join with local civic and fraternal organizations in making a study of the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA, arranged a council-manager forum for mid-September.

In WATONGA, OKLAHOMA, the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association favor the manager plan. An election on the question of its adoption is sought.

ORANGE, TEXAS, voted for a city manager charter amendment on July 20 by a 291-vote margin but, at the same time, by 2,619 votes out of 3,093, elected a mayor who bitterly opposed the amendment. His supporters have challenged the election on the question and have filed a suit in district court, charging illegal votes were counted.

In what is described by civic leaders and newspapers in SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, as a campaign to discredit that city's council-manager charter, several events have occurred in rapid succession—discharge of the latest manager by the council majority controlled by "Boss" Jack White; resignation of White as mayor (but not necessarily from the council); and a proposal of the council majority to revert to the old commission form of government. Meanwhile there continues to be an active movement for the recall of five members of the White group in the council. Recall petitions bearing over 19,000 signatures were filed on September 2. It has been pointed out that White can see to it that one of his supporters is appointed to the vacancy caused by any resignation from the council and that a new appointee cannot be recalled for 90 days. The plan of the council majority to have an October 30 referendum on changing the charter is also considered to be an effort to confuse the public and divert attention from the recall movement.

In SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, the chairman of the mayor's committee to study the manager plan predicted on August 5 that the plan would go into effect before the end of the year. An ordinance to that effect was being prepared.

Mayor Dayton Witten of AUBURN, WASHINGTON, in announcing his retirement, advocated adoption of the manager plan.

A proposed charter amendment providing the council-manager form of government will be submitted to the voters of MEDFORD, OREGON, at the November 2 election.

Clarence Arrasmith, city manager of FILLMORE, CALIFORNIA, died on July 21 after nearly 36 years in that office, which he assumed in October 1918 when 45 years old. His was the longest service of any city manager.

In CORDOVA, ALASKA, the people have voted in favor of the manager plan but the council has delayed action because of

(Continued on page 502)

County and Township . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Police Dept. Proposed for St. Louis County

Proposition to Be Voted on at November Election

IS THE traditional sheriff and constable system of police protection adequate for a metropolitan county of 485,000 population? Or should it be replaced by a non-political county police department, vested not only with the statutory law enforcement powers of the sheriff and constables but also with means of providing a higher level of police work throughout the entire county?

In brief, that is the issue to be decided by the voters of St. Louis County at the November election. Under an ordinance adopted by the County Council on August 25, the question of amending the county's 1950 home rule charter for the first time, in order to provide for a police department, will be on the ballot.

Action by the county council was the result of recommendations made by a Citizens Commission on Law Enforcement appointed by the county supervisor, with council approval, in mid-1953. The ten-member commission, headed by Arthur B. Shepley, Jr., prominent lawyer, and a similarly appointed fifteen-member Advisory Committee, with Victor D. Brannon, director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis as chairman, were requested to study present provisions for police protection and the county's over-all structure of law enforcement and make such recommendations—including proposed legislation—as they believed would improve the system.

Public hearings were held, at which county and municipal officers most closely concerned with law enforcement—sheriff, constables and police chiefs of municipalities—gave their views and were questioned. Research reports on the operation of several eastern metropolitan county-wide police departments, on the sheriff's office and constables' offices of St. Louis County, and on the police departments of the 92 municipalities of the county, were received and discussed, together with a report of the commission's special counsel on the legal problems involved in alternative proposals for changing the present system. Bruce Smith, director of the Institute of Public Administration in New York City, was engaged as consultant to advise on these alternatives and suggest a workable county police organization.

The commission had determined that any proposals for improving the operation and organization of the sheriff's office "could not remedy the inherent weakness of that office or of the sheriff system generally—namely, its elective and inevitably political character . . . [and that] rather than attempt to repair and patch the present basically unsound system, a wholly new police organization, removed from politics and modeled upon accepted present-day lines, should be established."

Two additional possibilities were rejected: a joint St. Louis City–St. Louis County police department, with jurisdiction over the entire metropolitan area, and a compulsory consolidated police department for St. Louis County only.[1] Under both proposals considerable time would have elapsed before the new system could go into effect.

The commission had grave doubt that either proposal would be adopted by the voters. Previous suggestions for uniting city and county into a single governmental unit had encountered much opposition. The possible establishment of a

[1]The city of St. Louis is not a part of St. Louis County.

metropolitan police department might well be construed as a "foot-in-the-door" approach. To propose setting up a single police unit for the entire county, on the other hand, would run counter to political and citizen opinion, especially in the more populous cities with well established police forces.

Final and unanimous recommendations of the Citizens Commission and its Advisory Committee were presented to the county council on April 28, 1954, with a draft of a proposed amendment to the county charter to put them into effect.

The basic charter change would transfer all police powers and duties from the elective sheriff and constables (who would continue as court officers and process-servers) to a new county police department. The department would have the same responsibility as the sheriff and constables now have for enforcing state laws throughout the county and county ordinances in its unincorporated areas. In addition, it would provide full-time police protection to those municipalities contracting with the county council for such service.

The department would be headed by a policy-making five-member bipartisan board of police commissioners appointed by the county supervisor, with the approval of the county council, for overlapping three-year terms. The board in turn would appoint a police superintendent, qualified in police administration and law enforcement, who would be responsible to the board for the complete operation of the department.

Although the Citizens Commission recommended that all police personnel come under the provisions of the merit system which the charter now provides for selected county departments, the proposed amendment provides that the superintendent appoint and promote personnel qualified in accordance with requirements of an ordinance to be adopted by the council no later than April 1955, which ordinance shall provide for authority in the board of police commissioners, upon recommendation of the superintendent, to establish minimum mental, character and physical qualifications for all personnel.

Amendment Far-reaching

The effect of the charter amendment, if adopted, would be far-reaching. The new provision which enables municipalities to contract with the county for police services should have an especially beneficial effect. It is believed that many of the small municipalities with tax resources too limited to provide their own police protection on an adequate basis would avail themselves of the full-time police services given by the well qualified and trained county police force—and at less cost than if each such city were to establish its own police system.

Another provision of the charter amendment permits the superintendent of police to deputize members of municipal police forces meeting minimum standards determined by the board of police commissioners. Such deputization is designed to permit municipal police to go beyond their city limits in pursuing a law violator, thus removing what has been a serious obstacle to effective law enforcement. But the proposed deputization should have the dual effect of raising the level of law enforcement throughout the county, since it is contemplated that deputization can be obtained only if the municipal police departments are operated efficiently and with freedom from partisan politics.

Should the charter amendment be adopted, it will become effective July 1, 1955. It is expected that a citizens group will wage an intensive campaign to assure that the voters of St. Louis County are acquainted with the issue and with the benefits accruing once the new department is established.

GRANT H. BUBY, *Assistant Director*
Governmental Research Institute
St. Louis, Missouri

Virginia Cities, Counties Cooperate on Hospital

City and county governments continue to cooperate in many different ways. Recently twelve counties and five cities in Virginia joined forces to operate a hospital for the chronically ill. Each one of the participating units pays twenty cents per capita toward the operating costs of the hospital.

City and county law officers in Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio, have completed plans for a blockade system to cover every road within 75 miles of Columbus in cases where bank robbers or other criminals are being pursued.

Manager Plan Recommended for Imperial County, Calif.

A recommendation for a county manager for Imperial County has been made editorially by the *El Centro* (California) *Press*. Noting that the county board of supervisors had sanctioned a change in the county employee group insurance program which appears ill-advised and wasteful of public funds and also that this action took place during general squabbling over county problems by the board and by the employees, the newspaper pointed out that such procedure is poor business in anybody's language. Since there has been much favorable experience with city managers in the state, it was felt that adoption of the manager form of government in county affairs was necessary so that full-time professional and efficient help might be secured.

South Texas Holds County Convention

Among the important issues discussed by the County Judges and Commissioners Association of South Texas at its 1954 annual conference were those of reclamation, highway and road-users taxes and the possibility of four-year terms for county officials.

On reclamation the conference went on record as requesting the senators and representatives in Congress from Texas "to take steps to immediately get the services of the Bureau of Reclamation and/or any other state or federal agencies to, in cooperation with the Texas State Board of Water Engineers, make an investigation of the feasibility, both from an engineering and financial standpoint, of a project to include a canal from the Sabine to the Watershed of the Rio Grande." This project would include a multiple purpose system covering flood control, irrigation, power and especially water for industrial development and domestic use.

The association felt "that any future increase in the highway road-user taxes be based upon the fair and simple formula that each user pay a tax in accordance with the amount of use he derives from the roads and highways and further that the present sources of revenue for county roads and the farm-to-market program be continued without interruption."

Texas voters will make a decision this fall on a constitutional amendment to increase the term of county officials to four years. Instrumental in this move have been the State and County Judges and Commissioners Associations and the regional associations. The South Texas group, like its counterparts in other areas of the state, has gone on record as endorsing such four-year terms, encouraging each member to work toward its passage.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Limited Voting No Substitute for P. R.

Requires Regimentation, May Distort the Verdict

THE limited vote,[1] under which each voter votes for a smaller number than are to be elected, but without preferential voting, and those with most votes win, is a crude method of endeavoring to secure representation for minorities, to be accepted only when nothing better is available. It falls far short of the accuracy and freedom of P.R.

Here are a few examples indicating ways in which it can go astray. In each example there are 200,000 voters, who may cast six votes apiece in the election of nine. In most of these examples tickets of six will be assumed, because any group which nominates more under this plan ordinarily would be courting disaster. The dire results which may follow from having more on a ticket are illustrated in Example 9. One of the disadvantages of the system, as compared to P.R., is that, for success, it requires disciplined voting and subordination of the voter's choice to the decisions of a "boss" or organization headquarters.

Example 1: *Minority Rule.* Three slates, with all six candidates on each slate receiving a number of votes equal to the number of voters supporting it, as follows:

Slate	*Voters*	*Elected*	*Probable P.R. Result*
A	80,000	6	4
B	65,000	3	3
C	55,000	0	2
	200,000	9	9

Here a 40 per cent minority elects two-thirds of the members, while a divided 60 per cent majority elects only one-third. The supporters of slates B and C might all agree in regarding the A candidates as the worst of the lot but, having no preferential vote, would have no way of registering this effectively if they could not agree on a single slate of candidates. The state of affairs indicated in this example is not at all unusual. A surplusage of candidates may be induced to run for the purpose of making such a result possible.

Example 2: *Exaggerated Minority Rule.* If there are many candidates and no effective effort is made to unite large groups of them behind agreed slates, a much smaller percentage may elect an undeserved majority. Although this is most likely to happen when there are no slates, it may be illustrated by supposing six slates, as follows:

Slate	*Voters*	*Elected*	*Probable P.R. Result*
A	45,000	6	2
B	35,000	3	2
C	33,000	0	2
D	32,000	0	1
E	30,000	0	1
F	25,000	0	1
	200,000	9	9

Here 22½ per cent elect two-thirds of the members, 17½ per cent elect the other third and 60 per cent elect nobody.

Example 3: *Majority Monopoly.* When there is considerable scattering of votes, it may be possible for a disciplined majority to divide its voters into two

[1] A proposal to substitute the limited vote for proportional representation will be on the November ballot in Cincinnati, Ohio. See the REVIEW, September 1954, page 451.

parts and win both the majority and the minority places. This actually happened a number of years back in a limited vote election of magistrates in Philadelphia. For example:

Slate	*Voters*	*Elected*	*Probable P.R. Result*
A1	55,000	6	3
A2	50,000	3	2
B	45,000	0	2
C	40,000	0	2
D	10,000	0	0
	200,000	9	9

Here a group with 52½ per cent of the votes elects all the members by dividing into two groups, each of which is larger than any of the remaining three.

Example 4: *Minority Monopoly.* The group that thus succeeds in monopolizing the seats may not even be a majority. For illustration, take Example 2 and suppose that slates A and B are divisions of the same group. In this case a 40 per cent minority succeeds in winning all the seats.

Example 5: *Majority Under-representation.* Even when there is no scattering of votes and all the voters are concentrated in two groups, there is no assurance that the groups will be fairly represented. The majority may even be under-represented. For example:

Slate	*Voters*	*Elected*	*Probable P.R. Result*
A	145,000	6	7
B	55,000	3	2
	200,000	9	9

Example 6: *Majority Over-representation.* The more likely result is majority over-representation, as in this example:

Slate	*Voters*	*Elected*	*Probable P.R. Result*
A	105,000	6	5
B	95,000	3	4
	200,000	9	9

Here a 52½ per cent group elects twice as many as a 47½ per cent group.

Example 7: *Necessity for Regimentation.* A group in a position to win a majority can only be sure to do so by uniting in support of all the group's candidates, whether personally liked or not. Any substantial defection from as many as two of the six candidates may deprive the group of its majority. For example, suppose that 15,000 of the voters in Example 6 cut two of the group's six candidates and either do not use their last two votes at all or give them to independent candidates with no chance of election. Then the two cut candidates will have only 90,000 votes each, instead of 105,000, and will run behind all the candidates on slate B. Thus group A, the majority, will elect four and group B, the minority, will elect five. Under P.R. each group normally has a choice of candidates and would not be likely to lose its rightful share because one or two of those nominated are personally unpopular with some voters.

Independent Action

Example 8: *Selection of Particular Candidates by Independents.* Although united support of a slate is essential for maximum representation of any group under this system, it is only those who disregard the maxim who determine the particular candidates to be elected on a slate unless they are all elected. The loyal voter who supports all six of his group's slate gives the one he favors least exactly the same support as the one he favors most. If the slate succeeds in electing only three, the three to win will be those voted for by those who do not support the other three. They may be very few in number and they may be voters who have no interest in the slate as a whole. In Example 6, suppose 1,000 voters of Group A, believing that their slate has a safe margin, decide to pick the three candidates on slate B whom they consider least objectionable and give them votes in addition to three of their own

candidates, while all the other voters vote straight tickets. Then three of the A candidates will have 104,000 votes instead of 105,000, still ample to win, and three of the B candidates will have 96,000 instead of 95,000. These will be the three B candidates to win and they will have been selected by a group of A voters. The 95,000 B voters who put the slate in a position to win three places may largely prefer the three others.

Example 9: *Loss by Selecting Too Many Candidates.* It has been assumed so far that each group selects six candidates because that is what would ordinarily happen under this system. Concentration is necessary to assure results. If a group decides to support more than six in order not to offend some good candidates and their supporters, it may lose out by so doing. In Example 6, suppose that group A nominates nine candidates instead of six and that the group's votes are spread about evenly over the nine. Then each of the nine will have about 70,000 votes, instead of 105,000. (With six votes apiece, there are six times 105,000 or 630,000 votes in the group. If these are divided about evenly among nine candidates, each will have about one-ninth of 630,000 or 70,000.) Group B, with 95,000 votes for each of its six candidates, will elect all six, leaving only three places for the majority group. Under P.R., nine candidates can be nominated safely and the group's supporters given a choice of particular candidates.

Example 10: *Bullet Voting.* Because under limited voting a sixth choice counts as much as a first, a person, by voting all his choices, may help defeat the candidate he likes most of all. (See Example 8.) Those who care more about a particular candidate than the success of a slate may, therefore, vote bullet votes for their candidate and let the rest of their voting powers go to waste. This may help to produce distorted results. Suppose, for example, that in Example 6 group A has appealed to a particular minority by nominating one of its candidates, while group B has not done so. The members of the minority do not know whether group A can elect six or not. In case it elects only three, they want to be sure that their candidate is among the three who are successful. So they cast bullet votes for their candidate and neglect the other five on their slate. Assuming the minority has 15,000 voters who cast bullet votes in this way, this reduces the vote of the other five to 90,000, behind the six candidates of group B. Thus the group B minority will elect six of the nine candidates and group A will elect the candidate of the particular minority which wrecked its chances, and two others.

In Example 1 the possibility has been noted that, by connivance, so-called "independent" candidates may be induced, either singly or as tickets, to enter the race for the purpose of dividing the opposition. Here machination can outstrip the imagination. Suffice it to say that with this ballot, an adroit and powerful machine boss, by manipulating the candidacies of so-called "opposition" or "minority" representatives, can often cause votes to be wasted on them to a point where, with a cohesive machine bloc of 30 to 40 per cent, he can control the election of a majority of the members of council or perhaps even all of them. (Consider, for instance, the famous "bedsheet ballot" in the primary elections for Detroit's city council. With candidacies numbering from 150 to 200, Detroit's council would be determined by small, cohesive minorities were it not for Detroit's run-off elections, in which the eighteen candidates running highest in the primary fight it out for the nine council seats.)

The mere suggestion of the possibilities in this regard should suffice to warn the independent voter that a simple limitation in the number of X-marks he may use in voting cannot of itself assure either truly representative councils or fair minority participation. G.H.H., Jr.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Half-century of State-local Debt

Period 1902-1952 Shows Fifteen-fold Expansion

MAJOR changes in state and local government in the United States which have occurred in the 60 years since the founding of the National Municipal League are chronicled elsewhere in this anniversary issue of the REVIEW. It is appropriate here to note briefly something of the tremendous expansion in governmental operations which has occurred over the period. In attempting to do so, however, one fact becomes clear: we are infinitely better equipped today with factual information about the finances of state and local governments than we were when the League was founded. In fact, only one series of financial data on state and local governments is available with sufficient continuity to make it useful in a brief note such as this—that on government debt—and it extends back only to 1902 on a basis comparable with currently reported statistics.

Since debt expansion is both a result and a cause of expansion of governmental operations (growth and the addition of new services necessitate new improvements, while the new facilities themselves require additional personnel for their operation), the large increase in state-local debt over the years does afford a rough indicator of the attendant expansion of revenues and expenditures.

To the beginning of the current century, it will be recalled, state and local government debt had been of relatively modest proportions, although it had undergone rather large changes. State indebtedness had risen but gradually during the Civil War, then declined by about one-third during the ensuing three decades and, by 1902, was approximately a quarter of a billion dollars. Local government debt, on the other hand, experienced rapid increases, especially after the depression of the 1880s, and approximately tripled from 1870 to 1902, when it came close to equaling two billion dollars.

From 1902 to 1940 both state and local debt rose substantially and rapidly, except in the 1930s when depression influences sharply checked the expansion of local debt. During World War II the trend was downward, regaining levels of the late 1920s, but postwar borrowing, including veterans bonus loans incurred by the states and a large volume of public service enterprise borrowing by the local units, carried both state and local debts to successive new peaks after the 1946 low. By 1952, state and local debt aggregated more than thirty billions of dollars, fifteen times that of 1902.

Until World War I, state and local debts greatly exceeded that of the federal government in magnitude, except for a time during the Civil War. The financial responsibilities of the federal government in financing two world wars and the depression of the 1930s radically altered the relationship, however. By 1922, federal debt was more than twice the combined state-local debt. In the next decade, federal debt declined while state-local debt nearly doubled, and by 1932 federal debt represented just under half the total public debt. In 1932-40 federal expansion was much more rapid than state-local, and by 1940 the federal debt represented more than two-thirds of the public debt. Since 1940, federal and state-local debts have followed diverse trends, with the wartime

TOTAL DEBT (In Millions of Dollars)

	State	*Local*	*State-Local*	*Federal*	*Grand Total*[1]
1902	$ 270	$ 1,925	$ 2,195	$ 1,178	$ 3,373
1912	423	4,075	4,498	1,194	5,692
1922	1,163	9,093	10,256	22,963	33,219
1932	2,896	16,680	19,576	19,487	39,063
1940	3,526	16,720	20,246	42,968	63,214
1946	2,358	13,564	15,922	269,422	285,344
1952	6,874	23,236	30,100	259,105	289,205

increase in federal debt vastly outstripping the postwar rise in state-local indebtedness. The trend for selected years over the 50-year period 1902-52 is summarized above; data are from the current reports of the Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Such debt figures, of course, take no account of the great increase in population over the half-century covered. In 1902, state debt equaled only $3 per capita, local debt $24 per capita, and federal debt $15 per capita, the combined state-local-federal per capita standing at $43.[1] At the prewar peak for state-local debt in 1940, the per capita figures were $27 for state debt, $127 for local debt and $326 for federal debt, a total of $480. Wartime reductions in state and local debt lowered the state debt to $17 per capita by 1946 and local debt to $96 per capita, combined state-local debt standing in 1946 at $113 per capita compared with $154 in 1940. Federal debt mounted to $1,908 per capita by 1946, however, and total public debt that year equaled $2,020 per capita.

By 1952, state debt was $44 per capita and local debt $148 per capita, the state-local combined figure thus standing at $192 per capita. Federal debt, however, was $1,651 per capita in 1952, and the total public debt $1,842 per capita. Both state-local and federal debts have risen further since 1952, the increase in local debt in particular being somewhat faster than the increase in population.

[1]Detailed figures may not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

Tax Institute Symposium Scheduled

The Tax Institute (formerly Tax Policy League) will hold a two-day symposium at Princeton, New Jersey, November 18 and 19, on the general subject "Financing Metropolitan Government." The preliminary program calls for two morning and two afternoon sessions, each concerned with specific phases of the subject. At the first morning session, Carl H. Chatters, who recently retired as director of the American Municipal Association to devote his time to municipal finance consultation, will preside at a discussion of economic trends affecting metropolitan government. At the afternoon session, specific problems affecting metropolitan finance will be considered, with Harold A. Caswell, tax manager for Sears, Roebuck and Company's eastern territory, presiding.

At the second morning session, the subject will be intergovernmental aspects of metropolitan finance and William F. Connelly, tax commissioner of Connecticut, will preside. At the final afternoon session Professor John F. Sly, director of Princeton Surveys, will preside. The subject will be taxation for metropolitan government. Details on all sessions, etc., may be obtained from the institute, Dr. Mabel L. Walker, executive director, at 457 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

LWV Operates Voters Service

Its Goal — Education for Intelligent Action at Polls

ONE OF the most important activities of the nearly one thousand state and local Leagues of Women Voters in the United States is its "voters service." Now considered a year-round activity, it warms up during the late summer into a frenzy of activity as the November elections approach. An excellent description of this service appears in the July-August *Articulate Voter,* published by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota. Excerpts from the story, prepared by Mrs. Roger Klein, voters service chairman of the Minnesota League, follow:

"The history of the League of Women Voters is the history of service to the voters. In the beginning, it was to educate women who had won their fight for the privilege of real participation in their government. This service has extended, through the years, to all voters—men, women, the 21-year-olds and the new citizens to this country. It is a history of which the league can be proud.

"The purpose of the league is to help the individual be an effective citizen. To this end, the responsibilities of voters service are: to build understanding of the essentials of representative government; to encourage an understanding of political parties, their processes and their relation to the citizen; to provide information on issues; to acquaint the community with candidates and their records; to educate the voters; and to encourage registration and get out the vote. We strive to accomplish this by distribution of nonpartisan information about government and the qualifications of those who hold the reins of government. By disseminating this information, we give the individual opportunity to participate more intelligently in his government. Only through informed voting can we hope for sound democratic government.

"The party system is a valuable and integral part of our form of government. It has been said that government in the United States is government by political party. It is important to know what the parties stand for, why people work in them and why given candidates choose to run under one party label or another. The questionnaires[1] are means to these ends.

"Once having chosen, voters must be encouraged to follow through on the records of those officials to whom they have entrusted their government. The candidates meetings offer the voter the opportunity to meet the candidates personally, to question them about the issues of the election, and to discuss with them the necessary ingredients of good government. If the candidate knows the voter is interested in the issues and concerned enough to follow through on the record, we shall continue to improve government.

"The league's policy of nonpartisanship is one of its greatest strengths. The league tries to have no preconceived ideas—the issues are thoroughly studied before opinions are formed. As one national legislator said to a local league, 'We value letters from league members because they are informed and nonpartisan. They have studied the problem and know what they are talking about.'

"Every league member is, without appointment, a member of the voters service committee because she is an informed voter. She can inform others by talking about the responses to candidates' questionnaires, knowing the candidates' quali-

[1]Sent by leagues to candidates running for office.

fications, discussing the issues of government and taking the league program to the community. League members serve the public in a variety of ways. Here are some of the fine voters service projects that are being done by leagues throughout the state [Minnesota]:

"*Afton-Lakeland* publicized the party caucuses—the beginnings of grass roots party education. . . .

"*Brainerd* publishes a voters directory every two years with voting and registration information, listing names of all office holders from local to national, giving legislative and congressional districts of the community, and offering tips on how to write congressmen.

"*Excelsior* held a very successful candidates meeting using printed fliers and editorials to publicize it. . . .

"*Hibbing* attracted an attendance of over 300 for a recent candidates meeting and had the second highest voting percentage in the state for that election. . . .

"*Mound* tried a candidates meeting 'in the round' where the candidates and voters were seated informally in a manner which stimulated more spirited discussion. . . .

"*St. Paul* car stickers, 'Have your say —VOTE!' were seen all over the city."

Other Communities Active

Some Leagues of Women Voters actually aid in the registration of voters. This season Riverside and Bakersfield (California) league members acted as registrars, to whom voters applied for registration. . . . The Camas (Washington) league operated a "votemobile" which, accompanied by deputized and trained members, circulated around the county, registering 153 citizens.

An old-fashioned picnic rally was staged by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta so that members might meet candidates for Congress, the legislature and the county commission.

Glastonbury (Connecticut) members instruct new voters in the use of voting machines. . . . A "primary eve" session on voting problems was held by the Nyack (New York) league . . . while the Glynn County (Georgia) group held a unit meeting called "Let's Talk About Elections in Georgia."

Women voters in Lubbock (Texas) staged a "get-out-the-vote" rally prior to the August election, with a telephone committee spending the day previous reminding voters of their election day duties. . . . Each fall the New York City league conducts a telephone information service, made known to the public by spot announcements over the radio.

Many leagues seek information from candidates by way of questionnaires. The facts are published in a voters directory, which is usually widely circulated. While the league takes a stand for or against important questions before the voters, no league supports candidates. It is strictly nonpartisan.

This is but a brief sample of voters service activities. The list could be extended indefinitely. No one has ever tried to estimate the number of citizens which the league's activities have influenced.

LWV Publications

Recent publications of Leagues of Women Voters include *Kentucky Politics —A Primer* (31 pages), issued by the League of Women Voters of Kentucky at Louisville. *Nominations in Rhode Island* (six pages, six cents), *Organization of Political Parties in Rhode Island* (four pages, four cents), and *The Direct Primary* (five pages, five cents) are published by the Rhode Island league with headquarters in Providence. The league at Gainesville, Florida, has made a study of the city's hospital, reporting its findings in a 21-page document.

Striving for Citizenship in Schools and Colleges

Pomona College, at Claremont, California, has been granted $33,000 by the Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh for a

three-year program to increase student observation and participation in civic affairs and practical politics. Dr. John A. Vieg, chairman of the Department of Government at the college, has been named director.

The grant will be used to provide two special courses for advanced students, stage annual Republican and Democratic rally days on the campus, and conduct summer projects for some students.

"This program of field work in politics is based on the theory that life itself is the best textbook in the social sciences," Dr. Vieg said. "It gives the student who demonstrates a *bona fide* interest in such problems an opportunity to check classroom theory by practical experience gained through service as a participant-observer in an actual campaign."

The Falk Foundation also sponsors the national Citizenship Clearing House Program which is designed to encourage greater participation by college men and women in practical politics as an avocation. A Southern California affiliate of the national organization was established several months ago with headquarters at Pomona College.

Workshop in Politics

A "Workshop in Practical Politics" will be held this fall and next spring by New York University's Division of General Education. Sydney S. Baron, political writer and director of public relations for the New York County Democratic Committee, will conduct the discussions. Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City and other prominent political figures —both Republican and Democratic—are to appear as guest lecturers. The program will be conducted in association with the Citizenship Clearing House for Southern New York.

The Action Program of the Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the Law Center of New York University, is an attractive 24-page pamphlet, well illustrated, setting forth the organization's objectives. The Clearing House is working with many colleges and universities throughout the country:

1. To develop an interest in politics on the part of students;

2. To make it possible to continue this interest after graduation;

3. To provide the organizational framework that will make these goals possible.

During the past summer Professor Phillips Bradley, of Syracuse University, accompanied a class from the university on a six-weeks tour of American government. Two weeks each were spent in Washington, D. C., New York City and Albany, New York. Opportunity was given the students to confer with officials.

The Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, which started five years ago with eight schools in the metropolitan area, now has affiliations with 1,500 institutions throughout the nation, reports the *New York Times.*

Among the volunteers who handled voting machine demonstrations prior to the July elections in Kansas City, Missouri, were 82 teenagers. These students manned 24 voting machines, giving nearly a thousand hours of volunteer service within a six-day period.

The Utah Foundation has distributed over three thousand copies of its book on state and local government to junior and senior high schools in all school districts of the state. The foundation reports that the First Security Bank purchased nearly a thousand copies for presentation to social science teachers, principals and libraries; other business firms and individuals presented quantities of books to various schools in their localities for classroom use.

Directors of the Rhode Island Home Rule Association have established a temporary committee, called the Civic Education Committee, to survey what secondary schools in the state are doing

to cultivate an interest among students in the field of American history, civics and government. The committee has sent a questionnaire to principals and headmasters of all secondary schools, outlining areas of interest.

Last spring, students of Park College at Parkville, Missouri, who completed the course in American national government were offered a chance to sign a pledge card which read: "With a view to serving the public interest and regardless of the nature of my future vocation, I pledge that, upon leaving college, I will devote a portion of my time to active and definite participation in politics and public affairs."

Introduction of the Citizenship Volunteer Program at Park has been a means of making both students and graduates steadily aware of their responsibilities of citizenship.

East Cleveland Has Community Council

Founded about sixteen years ago, the Community Council of East Cleveland, Ohio, is made up of representatives from 44 organizations, as well as 26 members at large. The purposes of the council, as set forth in its code of regulations, are:

(1) To encourage voluntary cooperation of the various groups in matters of civic enterprise; (2) to foster a more effective understanding of the conditions and needs of the city; (3) to promote community welfare and progress, to make recommendations to member organizations and groups, and to take such action as may be necessary and proper to promulgate and give effect to its recommendations; (4) to improve the general conditions of living in East Cleveland.

The council is nonpartisan and provides an opportunity for leaders in every organization and other leading citizens to meet together and exchange ideas and be helpful to each other both in the community at large and in their own organizations.

More Cities Plan Educational TV

According to *Educational Television News,* published by the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television (Ring Building, Washington, D. C.) Cincinnati is the seventh city in the country to launch educational TV. Its station went on the air officially July 15. At least five other ETV stations expect to be in operation by the end of the year—St. Louis, Boston, Seattle, Consolidated University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Ohio State University at Columbus.

Several communities—Memphis, Champaign (Illinois), and Birmingham—are well advanced with fund raising and station plans. Fund drives are also slated in Minneapolis, New Orleans, Denver, Sacramento, St. Petersburg, Nashville, Philadelphia, Washington and Detroit. Organizations in Chicago, Oklahoma City, Tulsa and Athens (Georgia) are hoping to reach their goal in 1955.

The Citizens Committee has issued *A Speaker's Kit with Information on Educational Television.* It contains a wide variety of printed pamphlets and mimeographed material for those interested in securing a station for their own communities. Other publications by the committee include *What Educational TV Offers You* (28 pages) and *Tales of Seven Cities—And of Video That Teaches* (36 pages).

Civic Awards Offered to Youth Groups

Parents' Magazine is offering a $1,000 U. S. savings bond and 250 honor certificates to youth groups which have rendered the greatest public service during 1954. The Youth Group Achievement Awards will be made annually in order

to encourage useful civic activity on the part of young people's organizations.

Eligible for the awards are all groups in the United States and its possessions and Canada with a minimum membership of ten. Members may be boys or girls or both, not exceeding high school age. Nominations may be made by the groups themselves, by teachers, principals, civic, school or church leaders, newspaper editors, parent-teacher associations and interested individuals.

Closing date for nominations for the 1954 awards is November 1, 1954. Application blanks are available from *Parents' Magazine,* 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17.

Boston Committee Dissolves

Dissension among its leaders has been given as one of the main causes for the demise of the New Boston Committee "after four controversial years as a civic organization dedicated to 'cleaning up politics'," reports the *Boston Daily Globe.* The organization was originally a youth movement which was credited with pushing "Boss" Curley out of the Boston political scene. It aided in securing a new charter for Boston to make the city's administration more efficient.

Cause of the dissension was the charge that the committee had come under the influence of political forces. Many officers resigned, leaving the organization without a chairman, executive secretary or an effective board of directors.

Some resigning directors appear to feel that a civic organization with good government principles is essential to the city and might be formed in the future under a new banner.

Foundation Fund

The City Club of Chicago has announced the establishment of a Foundation Fund the "purpose of which is to stimulate and strengthen the functioning of the club in the field of education for the responsibilities of citizenship and the techniques of democracy."

'Hats Off to Volunteers'

"Hats Off to Our Volunteers," headlines the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester (Massachusetts) in a recent issue of its *CEA Planner.* "When CEA was organized," comments the bulletin, "a new field of opportunity for service opened for many Worcester citizens." The story lists the names of numerous volunteers who have given their services to the association, which has only a part-time paid staff. Volunteers cut and paste clippings, which are used as source material for various reports on the city's government released by CEA's research committees—members of which are also volunteers. After its preparation by the staff, volunteers assemble, fold and stuff the *CEA Planner* into envelopes; flyers and notices mailed from time to time are handled by them. One volunteer keeps an up-to-date list of club presidents for the use of the office staff; some do typing. "At campaign time," says the bulletin, "the number of volunteers becomes so large that a single sheet of paper cannot list them. This *Planner* is dedicated to all who have carried the load of responsibility for CEA's successes."

Cited for Service

Because of her years of outstanding civic service, the Citizens' Association of Kansas City (Missouri) has awarded Mrs. George H. Gorton a "citation of appreciation." Mrs. Gorton was "one of the founders of the cleanup movement in Kansas City," reports the *Kansas City Citizen,* "and a stalwart in the original organization of the association. She was one of the organizers of the 'broom campaign,' which was so effective in the movement which swept the Pendergast machine out of the city hall in 1940."[1]

[1]See "The Women in Public Affairs," the REVIEW, May 1940, page 334.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Flint Investigates Fringe Area Problems

Citizens of City, Suburbs Organize to Seek Remedies

WHEN citizens of metropolitan Flint (Michigan) determined early this year to investigate the problems of their fast-growing area and try to do something about them, they thought they were in for a big job. Discussion didn't minimize the job ahead, but the natural optimism of this vibrant city seemed to say, if something as intricate as an eight-cylinder automobile can be turned out in mass production, surely integration of a metropolitan area of 300,000 persons can be devised.

Members of the Flint Area Study have found there's more plodding than running. They now know the digging, sweat, patience and persistence necessary in the first eight months are continuing elements of a metropolitan study.

Organization of the Flint Area Study has been completed and work started toward achievement of the purpose: "To identify and analyze the essential needs of the city of Flint and the surrounding communities and villages, and then make recommendations regarding the needs to the proper governmental authorities."

The Flint area is being studied for the same reason that practically every other metropolitan area is or should be. Some specific troubles: The state has threatened punitive action if fringe units don't control sewage. There is only one sewered area in the whole fringe. Young suburban families have overpopulated their schools and bonding limits are being reached. Individual and community wells outside the city are running dry. There are insufficient highways, sidewalks, street lighting, public transportation and zoning requirements and enforcement. Government adequate for rural communities 50 years ago still govern the four townships surrounding Flint.

The central city by no means escapes its problems of growth, not the least of which is the expense caused by workers and shoppers from the bedroom suburbs. Jurisdictional walls as impregnable as those of medieval fortresses separate city, county and township governments.

Since World War II there has been a growing awareness of the problems of metropolitan growth. The Flint Suburban Forum, a discussion group of fringe residents, devoted a portion of its 1953-54 program to governmental organization. Last fall, *The Flint Journal* ran a series of articles detailing area-wide problems, possible attacks against them and what some other communities were doing. One of the townships contiguous to the city attempted to incorporate as an independent city. Chiefly through these, the Flint metropolitan problem became articulate.

The incorporation vote failed. The newspaper stated in an editorial that nobody seemed to know what the metropolitan answer was, but it was high time somebody found out. A forum member volunteered to get the ball rolling toward establishment of an impartial study group.

In January, the temporary chairman—a suburban school superintendent—asked all other suburban superintendents to attend a meeting, bringing with them two or three of their communities' leading laymen. The Chamber of Commerce, labor officials and others in Flint were asked for names of likely representatives.

On January 26 the group met, heard the temporary chairman, Theodore J. Buell, and Sheldon H. LaTourette, who worked closely with him, explain the need for a cooperative approach to the problems shared by all the areas. The

group decided to tackle the metropolitan problem. Representatives of each suburban area were asked to return home, call a public meeting for explanation of the project and elect from the grass roots a permanent delegate and alternate.

By the end of February, the elections were completed. Representative Flint delegates were chosen. The first formal meeting was held March 2. Subsequently, John W. Thomas, a Flint attorney living in the fringe, was elected chairman. Thomas D. Welch, an engineer and dairy farmer, representing one of the villages, and Arthur H. Sarvis, an industrialist, representing Flint, were named vice chairmen. A nine-member executive committee, with care given to geography, was selected.

Setup of FAS

The over-all Flint Area Study consists of one delegate and one alternate from each of ten suburban school districts, five small cities and villages and seven from the city of Flint. Buell and LaTourette were added as members at large. Two other communities, lying farther out from the central city, have requested membership and no doubt will be added. Except for voting, alternates have the same rights and duties as first-line delegates. They vote when their delegate is absent.

First order of business was to meet separately with the elected officials and department heads of Flint, Genesee County and the townships. Since it was decided FAS membership was to be citizen rather than official, this liaison was vital. Each promised cooperation.

With contact established, the members then turned to naming their problems. Again, they went to the grass roots to find out what people thought about sewage disposal, streets, schools, water supply and the like. Some 20 or 30 problems were grouped into seven fields. The entire membership was divided into seven working committees—sanitation, education, traffic, government, taxation and finance, zoning and planning, and public services. Each committee is headed by an executive committee member. The committees have started their individual studies. First, they intend to identify their specific problem by detailing its extent. Then, they expect to analyze it in terms of what can be done. With deliberations completed, each committee will report recommendations to the over-all group, which will work the seven segments into a final coordinated report.

On August 10 Dr. Basil G. Zimmer, resident director of the University of Michigan Social Science Research Project, was hired as consultant. He will have use of university and Flint Junior College students as part-time "leg men" to aid in research.

The Flint project has had the benefit of counsel from metropolitan authorities and a first-hand report of study committees at work in other metropolitan areas.

Good features appear to be:

1. *The open-end study to which the project is dedicated.* Each problem will be examined in the light of what consolidation, annexation, incorporation, special districts, federation and other alternatives have to offer. The final outcome may be recommending one of these, a combination of several, or working within the present framework by improving and updating existing forms of government.

2. *The practically spontaneous beginning and democratic representation on the study committee.* If the electorate feels it has a part in the decisions reached, it will be inclined to support the final recommendations, even if those are not to the liking of all officials.

3. *School representatives in at the beginning.* Because they helped launch FAS, school superintendents recognized their problems as part of a greater, over-all metropolitan problem.

4. *Open policy attitude.* All meetings are open to the public and press and are regularly reported.

Flint Area Study is not without its handicaps. Perhaps most serious is its relationship with government officials. At what point should they be brought in and when excluded in order to produce citizen thinking but at the same time have it practical and realistic?

Another possible danger is the lack of a time-table. With no deadlines to meet, committee actions can become sluggish. With the hiring of a consultant, however, there is good reason to believe most damaging pitfalls can be avoided.

FAS has operated to date from a small petty cash fund. Its real expenditures are yet to come. A finance committee now is drawing up a budget and expects to solicit Flint industry, labor, business and each community for token amounts, at least, to pay the bills.

Flint has contributed to making suburban living possible by helping give the world the automobile. No less than others, at least in proportion, it possesses the auto age's urban problems as well as its benefits. It would seem to have an obligation to contribute to the relief of urban problems, which have been brought on in large measure by suburban living.

With the Flint Area Study now in operation, it has an opportunity to make such a contribution. Except for the start in breaking down intercommunity suspicion among delegates, however, FAS has yet to prove itself.

The project may be significant in that it is one of the few in medium-sized areas to tackle in its own way its metropolitan problems and seek to come up with answers, not from the state capitol or academic halls but from the people themselves. It seems reasonable to assume that the final outcome will be of considerable benefit if the effort is carried through to completion with the thoroughness of professional consultation, the practicalness of official advice, the scholarly approach of academicians and the imagination and genuine interest of local citizen action.

HOMER E. DOWDY
Staff Writer
The Flint Journal

Dr. Chute Receives New Appointment

The Institute of Public Administration, New York City, pioneer organization in the field of governmental research, has announced the appointment of Charlton F. Chute as assistant director. Until October Dr. Chute was director and vice president of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Eastern Division. Former positions include: director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis (1938-47), director of the Committee on Legislative Research of Missouri (1944-46), consultant to the Philadelphia Charter Commission (1949-51), and to the state commission appointed by the governor to study the government of New York City (1953-54).

GRA Holds Fall Conference

Some two hundred governmental researchers and public officials met September 13-17 at Shawnee-on-Delaware for the 40th annual conference of the Governmental Research Association.

Joseph S. Clark, Jr., mayor of Philadelphia, delivered the address at the annual dinner. Mayor Clark issued a challenge to governmental researchers to assist in developing politically mature leaders for modern America.

H. Eliot Kaplan, chairman, Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel, in the opening address, discussed public retirement programs.

In addition to six workshops there were three general sessions. The first, with retiring GRA President Harland C. Stockwell presiding, was devoted to association problems. The second was on Metropolitan Government and was

chaired by Frank C. Moore, president, Government Affairs Foundation. The third, presided over by Donald C. Wagner, personnel director of the city of Philadelphia, was on Intergovernmental Relations.

New GRA officers are: president, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research; vice president, Howard Friend, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; trustees, Henry W. Connor, John P. Keith, Leslie J. Reese, Estal E. Sparlin and Richard A. Ware.

Annual GRA award "for the most effective presentation of a subject" went to the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana for *PAR—Reports on Welfare.* The award "for the most noteworthy piece of research" was given to the Pennsylvania Economy League, Eastern Division, for *The Refuse Problem in Delaware County.*

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 485)

lack of funds and resultant difficulty in obtaining a manager. A mandamus suit has been threatened.

A proposal that the territory of ALASKA adopt a manager plan was made at a recent meeting of the Alaska Legislative Council by Representative Richard Greuel of Fairbanks.

Council-manager cities won first place awards from the International Association of Chiefs of Police in each of the seven population groups for cities of 10,000 to 750,000, for outstanding performance in traffic law enforcement in 1953. The seven cities are DALLAS, TEXAS; OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA; MIAMI, FLORIDA; PHOENIX, ARIZONA; COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA; EAST CLEVELAND, OHIO; and WINNETKA, ILLINOIS. Of 39 cities receiving honorable mention, 21 are governed by the manager plan. The awards were based on an evaluation of enforcement reports of cities in the annual inventory of traffic safety activities conducted by the National Safety Council.

Urban Transportation: A Committee and a Contest

Six national organizations of municipal officials have set up the National Committee on Urban Transportation to study problems in that field. The participating groups are the International City Managers' Association, American Municipal Association, American Public Works Association, American Society of Planning Officials, Municipal Finance Officers Association and National Institute of Law Officers. The U. S. Bureau of Public Roads and the Automotive Safety Foundation are cooperating. Orin F. Nolting, assistant director of the ICMA, is secretary.

The committee will determine the type of data needed by cities in dealing with transportation problems and will ascertain the best methods for obtaining such data. It will give attention to planning and financing street construction and maintenance, obtaining maximum efficiency and safety from the street system, mass transit, city-county-state relationships, and organization and management. A manual will be prepared as a guide to cities in developing broad transportation plans on an economical and continuing basis.

More than 140 municipal officials from all parts of the United States have been named to serve with the committee in gathering facts and preparing recommendations.

In an attack on urban traffic congestion, the Central Business District Council of the Urban Land Institute, Washington, D. C., is conducting a nation-wide contest for practical plans to make public transportation more attractive to the public and to stimulate more use thereof, thus reducing congestion and the size of outlays necessary to combat it in other ways, and also making redevelopment of central areas more feasible.

Books in Review

PROGRAM BUDGETING: THEORY AND PRACTICE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY. By Frederick C. Mosher. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1954. xiii, 258 pp. $5.00.

The full title of this volume indicates clearly that it is devoted to program budgeting in the military organization of the United States government. But the blurb of the publisher gives the impression that the author has written a comprehensive treatment of program budgeting as developed and applied in this country. Those who read the book with this in mind will be disappointed. And it will not be the fault of the author, for he has taken pains to set out the scope of his treatment quite clearly.

The author makes a point of saying that he is concerned only with budgeting in the defense establishment of the national government, and that he has even excluded from consideration the nonmilitary functions such as the civil program of the corps of engineers. He has strictly limited himself to the budgetary practices of the Department of Defense, particularly those of the Army, with some attention to the Air Force and only occasional reference to the Navy.

The author is also fully aware that the defense establishment is not "typical" among public agencies, even in the field of federal budgeting; that it is unique in many respects because of its vast size, its astronomical fiscal requirements, its baffling administrative complexities (resulting from dual controls—both civilian and military), its perennial periods of "feast or famine" growing out of actual conflicts or international tensions, and its basic responsibility in an uncertain world—to defend America in any future struggle by outplanning, outbuilding, outmaneuvering and outperforming all attacking enemies. This responsibility is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with the administrative and control processes which are normally applied to the ordinary governmental functions. Perhaps this is the most significant observation one gathers from reading this book.

The seven chapters are devoted to some general observations on the study of budgeting, mostly from the departmental standpoint; the unusual setting of military budgeting, including the "performance" legislation of 1949; the military plans, programs and budgets as they have developed since 1949; the military performance budgets, as envisaged by the Hoover Commission—"deceptively simple," yet "extremely difficult budgeting"; the budget process, as thus far developed by the defense establishment; the military comptrollers—postwar creations, supposedly emulating the practice in big business, mainly as conceived by Ferdinand Eberstadt—and their broad supervision of defense budgeting and fiscal management; and, finally, some conclusions and proposals.

Among the concluding observations are these: The author would unify military planning and program budgeting and then make it a top level operation, removed from the comptroller offices and assigned to appropriate program planning units in the three defense services. He would telescope the time span of the budgetary process for military estimating, thus reducing it by about a year and hitching it up to more recent thinking on military problems. After the President and the Congress have acted on the defense programs, an administrative budget constructed within the limits of authorized appropriations would be

the primary means of internal planning and control. The author observes that the several devices used currently in the defense establishment to improve its organization and equipment requirements appear in many instances to make dubious contributions to combat efficiency. He remarks that "there are increasing charges that the military may be pricing and mechanizing itself out of the 'market' of the nation's economy, and out of the field of combat effectiveness." And he concludes that "in this area of dominant national as well as military importance, civilian control is at its weakest."

A. E. Buck

The Origin of the City Manager Plan in Staunton, Virginia. Staunton, Office of the Mayor, 1954. 40 pp.

Staunton enjoys the unchallenged distinction of being the first American city to have a manager. The official title was "general manager" although "city manager" became the colloquial local title and has been the one which has gone on to glory.

The Staunton city government has published this 40-page pamphlet describing the circumstances in 1906-1908 which after great labor resulted in the installation of the late C. E. Ashburner, the first city manager in the United States. This pamphlet becomes the source book of that episode. It carries the full texts of several abortive efforts in the city council to install a full-time executive in a community that was spending its money through unpaid committees of a two-house council. It includes the final text which went into effect and which served until the city moved on to the standard council-manager plan of today, in 1920, when a single five-man council replaced the old bicameral system of eight aldermen and fourteen councilmen and a separate mayor.

R.S.C.

Political Primer for New York City Voters. By Louise Burr Gerrard. New York City, Foundation for Citizen Education, 1954. 17 pp. 10 cents.

A readable review of what a conscientious citizen of New York City of either party needs to know about the local governmental structures, the party organizations and voting procedures.

The foundation is a new and small one whose publications are designed for use by members of the New York City League of Women Voters and similar civic groups.

The Community Builders Handbook (fourth edition). By the Community Builders' Council of the Urban Land Institute. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1954. 314 pp. illus. $12.

It would be most unwise of one to build a residential subdivision of five hundred houses, with or without an adjoining shopping center, without checking the project against the remarkable mass of helpful experience in this compendium. Illustrated with photographs and plans, the book is obviously authoritative and fact-packed with data drawn from coast to coast.

Additional Books, Pamphlets and Articles

Assessments

Merits and Pitfalls of Assessing at Current Values. By Ernest H. Johnson. (Extracts from address before Annual Meeting, Association of Towns, February 1954.) Albany (New York), Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York, Board of Trustees, in cooperation with the Association of Towns, *Assessors Topics,* June 1954. 4 pp.

Rural Assessment Problems. By Chester Hoyt. (Address before New York State Assessors Association, An-

nual Meeting Association of Towns.) Albany, Association of Towns, *Assessors Topics,* May 1954. 4 pp.

City Managers

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CITY MANAGER. By D. G. Weiford. Richmond 19, League of Virginia Municipalities, *Virginia Municipal Review,* June 1954. 5 pp.

Community Development

LOOKING AT THE FUTURE. The First Midwinter Forum on Community Development, January 21-22, 1954. Lubbock, Texas Technological College, Department of Education, Adult Education Program, 1954. 78 pp. illus.

Constitutions

SUMMARIES OF LEADING CASES ON THE CONSTITUTION. By Paul C. Bartholomew. Ames (Iowa), Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1954. xxv, 334 pp. $1.75.

Education

MORE PUPILS AND HIGHER SCHOOL EXPENDITURES CALL FOR FISCAL PLANNING. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc., *News and Views, Your State and Local Government,* May 3, 1954. 2 pp.

A NEW FOUNDATION FOR MISSISSIPPI SCHOOLS. By John E. Phay. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, *Public Administration Survey,* May 1954. 4 pp.

PUBLIC EDUCATION UNDER CRITICISM. Presenting penetrative articles from leading magazines and educational journals dealing with criticisms of our public school system. Edited by C. Winfield Scott and Clyde M. Hill. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. xiv, 414 pp. $6.35.

THE REGIONAL SCHOOL PROGRAM IN MASSACHUSETTS. By John J. Desmond, Jr. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* May 1954. 3 pp.

THE SCHOOL LOAD RISES. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* May 1954. 7 pp.

Elections and Voting

ANONYMOUS ELECTION LITERATURE. Quotations from Pertinent State Statutes. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1954. 7 pp. 50 cents.

THE HISTORY OF VOTING IN NEW JERSEY. A Study of the Development of Election Machinery 1664-1911. By Richard P. McCormick. New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University Press, 1953. xii, 228 pp.

THE RECORD SHOWS. (Twelfth consecutive analysis of the voting turnout and the sixth comparison between city and suburbs.) Toronto 5 (Canada), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* June 30, 1954. 4 pp.

REPORT OF GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON ELECTION LAWS TO THE 1954 SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Columbia, South Carolina, The Committee, 1954. 83 pp.

Federal-State Relations

TENTATIVE REPORT OF KANSAS COMMISSION ON FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1954. 50 pp.

Fire Insurance

FEASIBILITY OF A STATE FIRE INSURANCE FUND. Report to the Colorado General Assembly. Denver, Colorado Legislative Council, 1954. 38 pp.

Functional Consolidation

ARE WE SITTING DUCKS FOR THE INTEGRATIONISTS? Best Defense Against Pressure for Combined Fire and Police Forces Is a Fire Protection Job Well Done. By Rod A. Porter. New York 18, *Fire Engineering,* May 1954. 3 pp. 10 cents.

Human Relations

EXPLORATIONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING. An Assessment of Experience, 1947-1953. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics, and Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1954. 87 pp.

Industrial Development

THE COMMUNITY INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SURVEY. The First Step in a

Community Industrial Expansion Program. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Department of Manufacture, 1954. 19 pp. 50 cents.

INDUSTRIAL SITE SELECTION—BURLINGTON COUNTY, N. J. A Case Study of Existing and Potential Industrial Location. By Gerald Breese. Princeton (New Jersey), Princeton University, Bureau of Urban Research, 1954. vii, 115 pp., maps. $2.00.

Land Subdivision

PLANNING RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISION. By V. Joseph Kostka. Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, School of Architecture, 1954. 127 pp., illus. $3.50.

Legislation

SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO MEANS OF CURBING EXCESSIVE LOCAL, SPECIAL, AND PRIVATE LEGISLATION. Montgomery, Alabama Legislative Reference Service, 1954. 9 pp.

Local Government

REORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. REORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND AND WALES. London (England), Association of Municipal Corporations, 1954. 7 and 12 pp. respectively.

Metropolitan Areas

REGIONAL ANALYSIS. TRENTON-CAMDEN METROPOLITAN AREA. A Study of the Economic Factors Affecting Development in New Jersey Along the Delaware River. Trenton, New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, Division of Planning and Development, 1954. 117 pp. $3.00.

Municipal Government

MAIN ROADS TO CITY GOVERNMENT. By Arthur W. Bromage. Ann Arbor, Alumni Association of the University of Michigan, *Michigan Alumnus,* Spring 1954. 6 pp.

Personnel

FRINGE BENEFITS IN MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT. A Survey of Practices in Oregon Cities Having Over 1000 Population. Eugene, University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, in cooperation with The League of Oregon Cities, 1954. 44 pp. $1.00.

PRESCRIPTION FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE. By E. S. Wengert, G. Lyle Belsley and Charles H. Bland. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1954. 20 pp. $2.00 (Price to members, $1.50.)

Planning

THE JOINT PLANNING COMMISSION. By Clare E. Clark. Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1954. 31 pp.

A PLANNING SURVEY FOR IOLA, KANSAS. By Lyle C. Kyle, Marvin Meade and Horace Mason. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1954. 149 pp., charts. $2.00.

PROCESS OF RENEWAL. South East Chicago Commission, 2nd Annual Meeting. Chicago, The Commission, 1954. 12 pp.

Police

REPORT OF THE CITIZENS COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT IN ST. LOUIS COUNTY.[1] St. Louis, the Commission, 1954. 48 pp.

STATE POLICE COOPERATION IN PROVIDING PROTECTION IN THE RURAL AREAS. (Address before Township Officials at the League of Municipalities Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 18, 1953.) By Russell A. Snook. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, *New Jersey Municipalities,* June 1954. 4 pp.

Politics

WHAT IT COSTS TO RUN FOR OFFICE. By Henry V. Poor. New York, *Harper's Magazine,* May 1954. 8 pp.

Primaries

KANSAS PRIMARIES—OUR NOMINATING PROCESS. By Marcene Grimes. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1954. 35 pp.

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[1]For a review of this publication see page 486, this issue.

Public Health

GOOD HEALTH TO YOU. An Administrative Study of the Department of Public Health of the City of Springfield, Massachusetts. Springfield, Future Springfield, Inc., 1954. 7 pp., table. 35 cents.

Public Relations

THE GOVERNMENT PUBLIC RELATIONS BOOKSHELF. By Eric Carlson. Chicago, Government Public Relations Association, June 1954. 11 pp. $1.00.

NEWARK AIRPORT PUBLIC RELATIONS. A Case History. By Lee K. Jaffe. (Address before Public Relations Society of America.) New York City 11, Port of New York Authority, 1954. 13 pp.

Taxation and Finance

IT ISN'T JUST MONEY—A STUDY OF ST. PAUL'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. St. Paul 2, League of Women Voters, 1954. 11 pp. 10 cents.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN MARYLAND 1952-1953. Baltimore 1, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1954. 46 pp.

LOCAL TAXING UNITS: THE ILLINOIS EXPERIENCE. By Clyde F. Snider, Gilbert Y. Steiner and Lois Langdon. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, and Illinois Department of Revenue, Property Tax Division, 1954. 93 pp. $1.00.

LOUISIANA STATE TAX HANDBOOK 1953. Supplement. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, 1954. 44 pp. 25 cents.

THE REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TAXATION—Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu, The Committee, 1954. 61 pp.

REPORT ON ECONOMY. The City of New York. By Luther Gulick. New York, Office of City Administration, May 1954. 42 pp.

REVALUATION PROGRAM TO INCREASE REVENUES. By Joseph J. Lennox. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1954. 4 pp. 50 cents.

CITIZENS v. BOSS: CITIZENS WIN

(Continued from page 469)

organized committees to study the proposals of the city government and to recommend a program. This program was explained to the voters by members of the Regional Planning Council.

Typical of the people who have made the Planning Council such a success are William M. Symon, Delos C. Johns, Jess N. Gittinger, Dowdal H. Davis, Grover Milam, Mrs. Robert Casebolt, Mrs. Gorton, Mrs. Storms and the author. For these men and women, it was not enough that the bonds be approved. In order to assure proper utilization of the bond funds, they also were instrumental in establishing and operating citizens' watchdog committees that actually functioned.

Everyday Citizen Action

"Where do I get a building permit?" . . . "What does this zoning mean?" . . . "We need a small playground." These are but a few of the citizen problems which arise daily, and there is a citizen organization devoted to the day-after-day prosaic matters of municipal government. This is the Association of Community Councils.

First organized with the assistance of the city government, the Association of Community Councils is now divided into 38 neighborhood councils, which merge into fourteen community councils. These councils are two-way streets, since citizens can formally express their opinions on any municipal matter to the city government and city officials

may attend community and neighborhood council meetings to explain municipal programs and to answer questions.

Each year representatives from each Community Council study the city's proposed budget for the coming fiscal year. They then report to their councils, which take a formal position on the budget. Of the true grass-roots variety, the Association of Community Councils has been highly important in recreating citizen confidence in municipal government.

If a citizen government is to be effective, merely providing an opportunity for expression of opinion is not enough. This must be complemented by a means of taking action. To bring this about, the Citizens Association was organized in December 1941. It is the heir of all the various groups which banded together to overthrow machine rule and its primary purpose is the continuation of nonpartisan government in Kansas City.

Operating on a full-time basis, the Citizens Association contains representatives of both major political parties as well as independents. Its policies are determined by an executive committee subject to review by a 200-member board of governors. The association's major function is selecting a slate of municipal candidates for each election and conducting a successful campaign to elect these nominees. It accents youth and is continually recruiting younger citizens. The present chairman, who is in his second term, is Clinton W. Kanaga, Jr., a prominent Kansas City insurance executive in his middle 30s.

Typical of the association's other activities was the recent sponsoring of "Town Hall" meetings in various districts of the city. At these meetings elected officials answered questions directed to them by the audience.

Conclusion

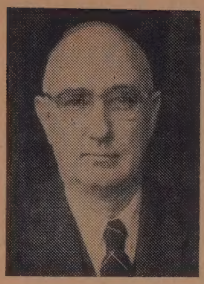
Kansas City furnishes an example of the best and the worst in municipal democracy. For fourteen years, ending in 1940, the city was ruled by a despotic machine. In 1940 the atmosphere cleared as if a dense fog had lifted. For the past fourteen years, Kansas City has had an enlightened, progressive government. New services have been added, badly needed improvements have been built, and the best in technical developments have been utilized.

Why has Kansas City undergone this complete change? The key lies in citizen interest and dynamic participation in governmental affairs. The sun peeked through the clouds in 1932 and again in 1934. It shone brightly in 1940 and has continued to illumine the city. It has done so because the forces of citizen pride and citizen participation have been too powerful to permit darkness to fall. An eclipse will come only if Kansas Citians lose the idealism and drive which has carried them so far.

Inside the Office . . .

Dr. Roger H. Wells, director of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations Project, Governmental Affairs Institute, conferred recently with **Richard S. Childs,** chairman of the League Executive Committee, and staff members **John E. Bebout** and **John P. Keith** on federal-state-local relationships. . . . Mr. Childs, incidentally, is consultant to the Brookings Institution on research concerning national political convention delegates. Recently he was moderator of the Citizens Union Searchlight radio and television program, in New York, on which occasion he cross-examined Carmine De Sapio, Tammany leader, about the New York State political situation.

Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House, and **Patrick Healy, Jr.,** the new executive director of the American Municipal Association, lunched recently with **Alfred Willoughby,** League executive director. . . . **Dr. A. M. Hillhouse,** of the Cornell University School of Business and Public Administration, recently delivered the final manuscript on the *Model Investment of State Funds Law,* soon to be published by the League. . . . Members of the staff reviewed a number of films on public affairs with **Paul Bernard** and **Dr. Lillian W. Kay,** of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report. The League is studying the possibility of producing a number of films in its field for use on television and otherwise.



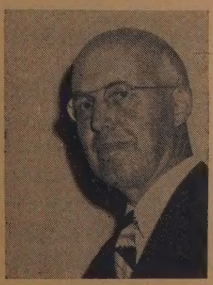
A. M. Hillhouse

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Guthrie S. Birkhead, the first League staff fellow, is making a study of research projects conducted by the State of New York. The purpose is to make sure that useful research is being conducted, that duplication is eliminated, and that results are made available to those who can use them. Dr. Birkhead is associate professor of political science at Syracuse University. . . . **Norman Blacher,** the new community manager of Sea Gate, Brooklyn,[1] called at the office. . . . Messrs. Bebout and Keith of the League staff conferred with New York City Administrator **Luther Gulick** about the possibility of inaugurating a continuing program on the impact of technology upon state and local government.

Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company and former League Council member, won the 1954 Outstanding Citizen award of the New Jersey Advertising Club. . . . **Francis W. Rogers** of Thomas Y. Crowell Company discussed the American Commonwealth series of books on government and administration in the 48 states at League headquarters. His company is publishing one volume on each state.

Carrol M. Shanks



Richard S. Childs

[1]See page 484.

Experts in 20 Panels to Cover Wide Area

(Continued from page 443)

newspapers in Illinois, and Dowdal Davis, of the *Kansas City Call.*

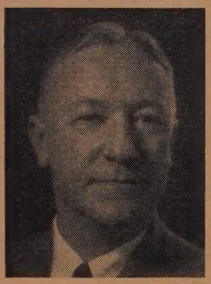
"Industry's Responsibility for Achieving Sound Government." Cecil Morgan, counsel for the Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) and member of the League's Council, is chairman, and William H. Baumer, assistant to the president of Johnson & Johnson, is among the participants.

"State Legislatures: Do They Represent the People?" The chairman is Lashley G. Harvey, of Boston University, and Gus Tyler, political director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is one of the panel members.

"Public Relations of the Council and the City Manager," with Ethan P. Allen, director, Government Research Center, University of Kansas, in the chair, and Elder Gunter, city manager of University City, Missouri, and Hugo Wall, University of Kansas, taking part.

"A New Look at Home Rule," with Martin L. Faust, University of Missouri, presiding. Among the other panel members are Bayard H. Faulkner, chairman, New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government (1950), Jefferson B. Fordham, dean of the Law School, University of Pennsylvania, and Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan.

"State and Regional Planning."



Cecil Morgan

Bayard H. Faulkner

Tract on Manager Plan Abandonments Revised

To keep its publications up to date in a fast-changing world, the League is continually making appropriate revisions. The latest work to undergo this treatment is *Manager Plan Abandonments*, prepared for the League by Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan. The fourth edition, now available for distribution, explains why 51 communities out of the 1,300 which have tried the council-manager system have rejected it. This 40-page booklet costs 50 cents.

Arthur W. Bromage

Joseph E. McLean

Joseph E. McLean, New Jersey Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development, will be chairman. Others taking part include Hugh R. Pomeroy, director of the Westchester County (New York) Department of Planning, Coleman Woodbury, well known planning consultant, and T. Ledyard Blakeman, of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission.

"Organized Citizens At Work," with Clinton W. Kanaga, Jr., president, Citizens Association of Kansas City, presiding. Participating are Forest Frank, executive director, Cincinnati City Charter Committee, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., member of the board of the Cleve-

(Continued on following page)

Record Set in All-America Cities Contest

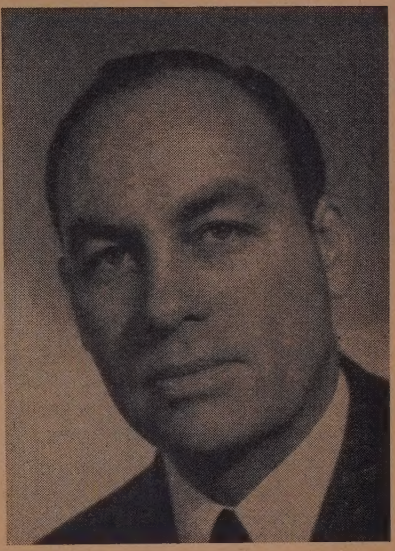
Indications are that the Sixth Annual All-America Cities Contest will draw a greater number of entries than ever before.

Requests for the formal entry blanks which competitors must execute to be considered in the contest, which is jointly sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look* Magazine, exceeded 200. It is anticipated that by the October 1 deadline between 75 and 100, a record, will be returned to League headquarters.

A screening committee, as in the past, will narrow the entries down to 22, which will be given the opportunity to present their cases to a jury during the National Conference on Government in Kansas City, November 7 to 10.

The foreman of the jury will be Dr. George H. Gallup, president of the League and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, who held the same office in previous contests.

Others who have been named to the jury include Mark Matthews, former president of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce and member of the League's Council, Vernon Myers, publisher of *Look*, Dean William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri, Professor Donald Webster, University of Washington, and Leo Perlis, National Community Services Director of the CIO.



George H. Gallup

The balance of the twelve-member jury will be announced at a later date.

Meeting

(Continued from preceding page)

land Citizens League, and Stanley H. Renton, Charter League of New Rochelle (New York), and others.

"Women in Public Affairs," at which Mrs. Martha Sharp, special assistant to the chairman, National Security Resources Board, 1950-53, will preside.

"Education for Political Participation" (primarily in colleges and universities). James W. Miller, Michigan State College, is chairman.

"Going to Town — Metropolis on Wheels," chaired by Lee M. Sharrar, attorney, Humble Oil & Refining Company. Among the others on the panel are Mayor Roy Hofheinz, of Houston, and John W. Giesecke, of the Transit Board of Freeholders, St. Louis.

"State-local Fiscal Relations." John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank, will preside.

"Clinic on the Organization of a Statewide Civic Campaign," with Robert H. Rawson, former chairman of the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution, as chairman.

(Continued on following page)

Another Reason for Attending K.C. Conference

In addition to profiting from the many sessions on topics of broad importance at the 60th Annual Conference on Government in Kansas City, those who attend the meeting will have an opportunity to see modern municipal government working effectively.

Recently Walter Blucher, one of the country's foremost planners, studied Kansas City which, fourteen years ago, was generally one of the worst-run cities in the nation. Until 1940, the municipality was in the grip of the notorious Pendergast machine.[1]

"What impresses one in Kansas City," Mr. Blucher declared, "is the vitality of the area, its aliveness, its optimism, the sureness of its residents and public officials."

Mr. Blucher called attention to bridges, parking facilities, expressways, slum clearance and many other public improvements which had been and are being made in the city. He noted with respect to planning that other cities in the area, and indeed in another state (Kansas), are all considered together as a single integrated metropolitan unit.

Kansas City has a planning staff of 28 persons, Mr. Blucher said, compared with twenty in Seattle, fifteen in Denver, and eleven in Indianapolis. This staff has better economic information than the average market analyst in the region, he continued.

"The smart market analyst in the Kansas City area will go to the Plan Commission for assistance," he asserted.

[1]See page 464.

If you want to be sure of staying at the conference hotel, the President, shown here, while attending the National Conference on Government in Kansas City, be sure to make your reservations early. With a record attendance anticipated, the hotel may not be able to accommodate everyone.

Meeting

(Continued from preceding page)

"The Water Problem: A Challenge to the States." Edward Ackerman, assistant general manager, Tennessee Valley Authority, is slated for the chairmanship. Arthur Lloyd, head of the Legislative Reference Bureau, Kentucky, Guthrie Birkhead, Syracuse University, and M. Turner Wallis, Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, will be among those on the panel.

"Representative City Councils" (a clinic on methods of representation). Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former member of the Cincinnati city council, will serve on the panel.

Other panels will be held on "Youth in Civic Affairs," which will be primarily concerned with students in secondary schools, "Business and Professional Men As Civic Leaders", and "State Reorganization: Where Do We Go From Here?"